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MORMON SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN ALBERTA

by



JOHN CAMPBELL LEHR

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1971

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Mormon Settlements in Southern Alberta" submitted by John Campbell Lehr in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

This study examines and analyzes the process of colonization of areas in southwestern Alberta settled by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The movement of Latter-day Saint colonists from the Intermontane West of the United States into Alberta is examined from the standpoints of motive for migration, destination of migrants, the role of the L.D.S. Church in colonization and the evolution of settlement patterns.

Settlement form and contemporary patterns of land ownership reflect the social characteristics of this socially cohesive theocratic group. The employment of the farm village variant of nucleated settlement is explained in terms of social and religious need.

The wide variation encountered within the Albertan L.D.S. settlements is used to support the contention that the influence of Joseph Smith's Plat of Zion upon L.D.S. settlement morphology was minimal. However, certain characteristics were found to be common to the majority of settlements, imparting a distinctive appearance to most L.D.S. settlements in Alberta.

The visual characteristics of the cultural landscape created by Latter-day Saint settlers are enumerated and contrasted with those of the source area of migration. On the basis of visual criteria alone a Latter-day Saint culture region in Alberta is tentatively delimited.

And never could be a people more blessed
than were they, and more prospered by the
hand of the Lord. And they were in a land
that was choice above all lands, for the
Lord had spoken it.

Book of Mormon
Ether, Ch. 11, v. 28.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Adherents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, popularly known as "Mormons" (amongst themselves as Latter-day Saints),¹ have long been recognized as a distinctive and in many ways unique folk group.² Their strong cultural ties and sense of unity cause them to be regarded as an ethnic group by some sociologists. They are, however, more truly a minority group, the term "ethnic" carrying a national connotation which is not strictly applicable to the Latter-day Saints. Nevertheless their beliefs emphasize a common identity, the L.D.S. readily acknowledging themselves to be a "peculiar people," being convinced of the truth of their theology and the righteousness of their particular way of life.³

The combination of a unique theological culture with a distinctive sociological structure has created a society which, in its colonization of the western frontier, developed

¹The Latter-day Saints refer to themselves as L.D.S. or Saints. The term "Gentile" is generally employed to denote all those not of their faith. The designation "Mormon" is most commonly applied to the Latter-day Saints by those outside the L.D.S. Church.

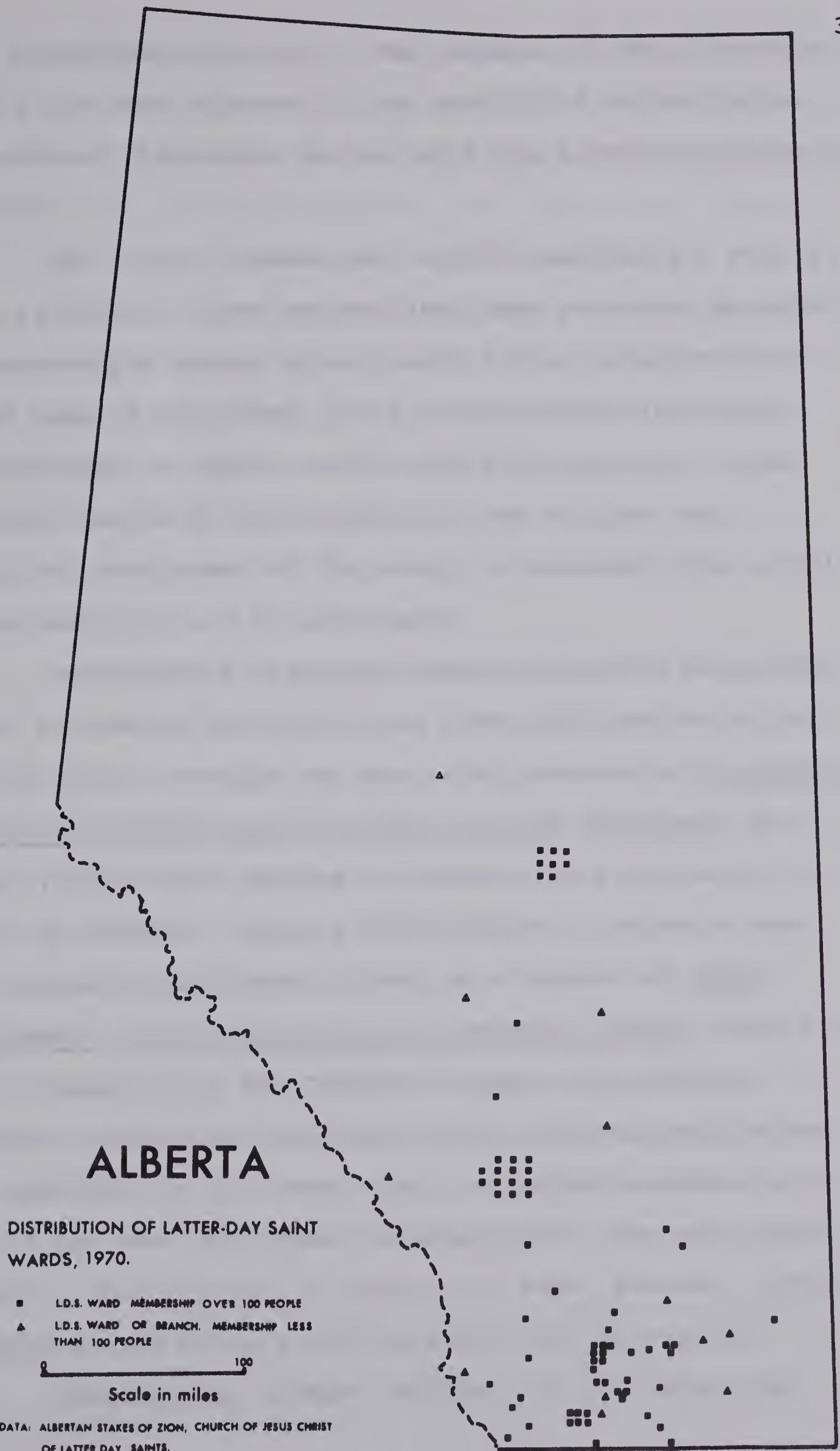
²J.H. Brunvand, "As the Saints Go Marching By," Journal of American Folk Lore, 1970, p. 53.

³H. Palmer, Land of the Second Chance, Lethbridge Herald, Lethbridge (in press).

a unique pattern and technique of land settlement. This inevitably has had visible ramifications upon the landscape of areas settled by the Latter-day Saints.

Large areas of southern Alberta were colonized by the Latter-day Saints. Settlers migrating northwards from the "Mormon Country" of the United States (mainly Utah and Idaho) in the years following 1887 established settlements in southern Alberta. These were, and in some cases still are, sufficiently distinctive to create a "Mormon Country" landscape in parts of southern Alberta. It should be noted, however, that the term "Mormon Country" when applied to the extreme south of Alberta today is something of a misnomer. Rural depopulation and urban drift have resulted in the Latter-day Saints becoming numerically stronger outside their original area of settlement (Map I).

The intention of this study is to examine the settlement process of the Latter-day Saints in Alberta and to explain certain contemporary patterns and distributions with reference to L.D.S. cultural background and historical geography. It is hoped to correct several widely held misconceptions regarding L.D.S. settlements in Alberta. More so than other groups, the Latter-day Saints are subject to a number of popular misconceptions which are equally prevalent amongst non-L.D.S. (Gentiles) as the L.D.S. themselves. Generally such erroneous beliefs have had, initially at least, some basis in fact, but have been distorted as much by gentile sensationalism and simplification, as Latter-day



Map I

Saint enthusiasm and piety. The credence of many erroneous beliefs has been enhanced by the paucity of authoritative geographical literature dealing with the Latter-day Saints in Alberta.

The L.D.S. themselves, whilst possessing a strong sense of history, have concentrated upon producing detailed inventory-style church history with little interpretation. Indeed some of the better L.D.S. publications are overly filio-pietist in nature, whilst works by non-L.D.S. have generally failed to take account of the cultural and historical background of the group, so necessary for a full understanding of L.D.S. settlement.

Geographical literature dealing with the Latter-day Saints in Alberta is confined to a few publications all of limited value. Perhaps the best work produced is The Mormon Village - A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement by L. Nelson (1952) which devotes one chapter to a review of the L.D.S. in Alberta. However this portion of Nelson's work was originally published in 1936 as a chapter of Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, edited by Carl A. Dawson, for the Canadian Pioneer Publications Committee, and little revision of the original publication was undertaken in the later work. A further weakness is a lack of any real geographic interpretation, the work being primarily sociological in content. It does, however, provide a useful source of data for the historical geographer.

Geographical studies dealing with the Latter-day

Saints in Alberta have been undertaken by Buchanan⁴ and West.⁵ Buchanan's article is primarily historical in approach and deals only with Mormons in Cardston with any degree of thoroughness. It contains little new information. West's article is a superficial overview of Cardston.

Owing to the paucity of adequate literature, data for this study were collected in the field; interviews were conducted with the original pioneers of L.D.S. settlements, their successors and L.D.S. Church officials. The results of this field research constitute the primary data source for this study. In addition inventory-style local histories and pioneer diaries were consulted.

Land patents and homestead entry records were of little value in ascertaining the distribution and sequence of L.D.S. settlement in Alberta. The data given in homestead records do not include the religion of the applicant. This makes it impossible to determine which homestead entries were made by members of the L.D.S. church.

In attempting to present in a cogent and rational manner some of the most important aspects of the L.D.S. settlement process, together with an analysis of their geographical effects, several problems were encountered. A major difficulty was the arrangement of the material in a way which would clearly indicate the historical importance of

⁴D.B. Buchanan, "The Mormons in Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, April 1931, pp. 255-270.

⁵K. West, "Cardston the Temple City of Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, Nov. 1965, pp. 162-9.

events, preserve the chronology, and yet allow the pursuit of several divergent themes. A format has been adopted whereby the history of settlement is set in an early chapter, with subsequent chapters devoted to the development of specific themes.

One of the greatest problems encountered in any geographic study of the Latter-day Saints is that of definition of terms and the delimitation of the boundaries of the L.D.S. culture region. It is almost impossible to adequately define what constitutes the "Mormon Country" of southern Alberta; yet repeated reference is made to this abstract conception by both the L.D.S. and non-L.D.S. alike. Meinig has examined this problem with reference to the United States,⁶ but the Canadian example has been largely ignored. Probably the best definition of "Mormon Country" as applied to Alberta is "that area dominated by settlements founded and occupied by Latter-day Saint pioneers." No clear boundaries can be drawn and because the L.D.S. tend to cluster around villages the region is not contiguous, areas within the "Mormon Country" being occupied by gentile settlers.

As it is not feasible to attempt an analysis of all settlements in which members of the L.D.S. Church are found, the study has been restricted to those settlements which fall within the definition of Mormon settlements as proposed by

⁶D.W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns on the Geography of the American West 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 55, No. 2, June 1965, pp. 191-220.

Rosenvall: "a settlement founded by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which existed for sufficient time and with the L.D.S. in sufficient numbers to warrant the establishment of a ward organization."⁷ Latter-day Saints are numerically strong in many non-Mormon settlements, forming in several a high percentage of the population. Yet because the settlement was not originally founded by the Latter-day Saints, many of the physical and social characteristics of the true Mormon village are lacking. Such settlements are definitely non-Mormon in character.

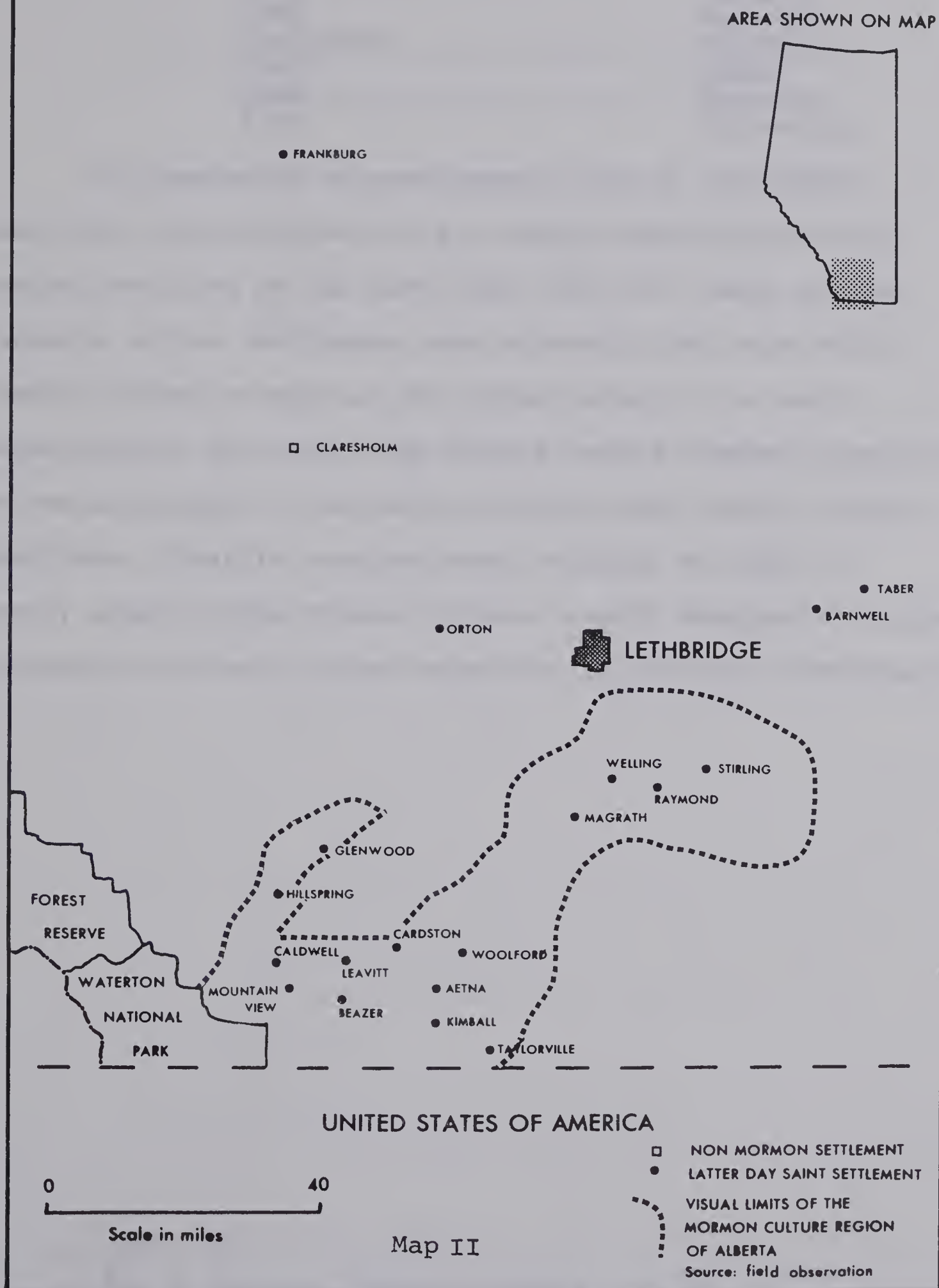
Conversely, in some settlements founded by Latter-day Saints non-Mormons today form the majority of the population. However, the initial dominance was such that the L.D.S. dictated the original form and appearance of the settlement.

By application of Rosenvall's definition the number of true Latter-day Saint settlements can be narrowed to nineteen, of which seventeen still survive. The L.D.S. settlements considered for the purpose of this study are listed below in the order of their establishment (See Map II).

<u>Date of Establishment</u>	<u>Settlement</u>
1887	Cardston
1890	Aetna
1890	Mountain View
1891	Beazer
1893	Leavitt
1897	Kimball
1898	Magrath
1898-1911	Caldwell
1898	Stirling

⁷Pers. comm., Prof. L. Rosenvall, The University of Calgary.. An L.D.S. ward is analagous to the parish of an Anglican church.

LATTER-DAY SAINT SETTLEMENTS IN ALBERTA



1898	Taylorville
1900	Woolford
1901	Orton
1901	Raymond
1901	Welling
1902	Barnwell
1902-1937	Frankburg
1903	Taber
1908	Glenwood
1910	Hillspring

The omission of settlements such as Claresholm where the Latter-day Saints are today numerically strong, may be justified by the fact that the L.D.S. were not the founders of the settlement, and although they were sufficiently strong to warrant the establishment of a ward organization, the Latter-day Saints needed complete dominance in the early days to be able to dictate the initial settlement form. Gentile settlers were unlikely to adopt or easily adapt to the Mormon village, a unit designed from its conception to "wed utopian economics to millennial theocracy."⁸

⁸W. E. Stegner, Mormon Country, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1942, p. 108.

CHAPTER II

LATTER-DAY SAINT DOCTRINE AND ITS EFFECTS

UPON COLONIZATION BY THE CHURCH

The L.D.S. colonization process and the patterns of settlement adopted by the Latter-day Saints have been governed, if not dictated, by the religious beliefs of the sect. A proper comprehension of the frequently complicated relationships between socio-religious, economic and environmental factors bearing upon the action of Latter-day Saint pioneers cannot be gained without an understanding of the origins, organization and theology of their church.

Joseph Smith Jr. the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was a visionary from the "Burned-over District" of western New York.¹ Claiming to be a latter-day prophet of God, Smith founded his church in New York State in 1830. Regarding both the Old and New Testaments as Holy Scripture Smith also claimed to have been given a record: The Book of Mormon which is regarded by his church as a scripture complementing the Bible, and having an equal status.

The Book of Mormon, first published in 1830, purports to be the record of a now extinct white race which inhabited

¹The "Burned-over District" was an area located in western New York so frequently swept by religious revivals that it was regarded as being burned-over. T.F. O'Dea, The Mormons, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968, p. 11.

the American continent before the arrival of European settlers. This race was one of the lost ten tribes of Israel which arrived in the New World "probably 589 B.C."² After being converted to Christianity by the appearance of Jesus Christ in the Americas the tribe was eliminated by fratricidal warfare, its history being set down on gold plates by Mormon, one of its last surviving members.³ It is this record that Joseph Smith claimed was shown to him by the angel Moroni. This record Smith subsequently translated and published as The Book of Mormon.

Whatever the credence put upon the claims of Joseph Smith and his disciples, it remains true that the content of The Book of Mormon was to have a far reaching effect upon the history of the American West. Its teachings have fashioned L.D.S. attitudes towards the native Indian population,⁴ the Negro, and the location of Zion, the land "which God, through the prophet Joseph Smith, had declared as the New Jerusalem of the imminent Millenium."⁵

² Joseph Smith, (translator), The Book of Mormon, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 1961, p. 40.

³ Ibid., 3 Nephi, Chapter 11, verse 8. p. 421.

⁴ The Book of Mormon teaches that the pre-European population of the Americas originated from Israel. After arrival in the New World they separated into tribes: The Nephites and Lamanites. The latter annihilated the Nephites in warfare and were cursed by God for their sins, being given a dark skin. The present day Indian population is thought by the L.D.S. to be descended from the Lamanites. Accordingly early missionary efforts were directed towards the conversion of these people.

⁵ P. Bailey, The Armies of God, Doubleday Book Co. Inc., Garden City, New York, 1968, p. 3.

The theology of the L.D.S. Church was later added to by a series of revelations from God to Joseph Smith. These revelations were used by Smith as a means to govern his church in a pragmatic fashion. Later they were collected and published as The Doctrine and Covenants being regarded by the Latter-day Saints as the Word of God.⁶

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints cannot be grouped together with either the Protestant or Catholic churches on the basis of modern association, theology or practice. The movement did not arise out of any dissention with any Christian denomination nor did it result from a schism within any religious society.⁷ Indeed the L.D.S. church is more than a religion, it is many respects a "complete way of Life."⁸

The belief in the imminence of the millenium, on which the title "Latter-day Saints" was founded, has played so unimportant a part in modern Mormon belief that its prominence as an early tenet of the Church is generally overlooked. "At no time was there a more widespread interest in the speedy coming of Christ and the day of judgement than during the years when the organization of the Mormon Church was taking place."⁹ Accordingly, the L.D.S. Church placed great emphasis

⁶Joseph Smith, (relevator), The Doctrine and Covenants, Deserst Book Co., Salt Lake City, 1967, pp.

⁷G.B. Hinkley, What of the Mormons? The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 1954, pp. 11-12.

⁸W. Turner, The Mormon Establishment, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1966, p. 39.

⁹W.A. Linn, The Story of the Mormons, Macmillan and Co., London, 1923, p. 75.

upon the gathering of the Saints in order to build Zion in preparation for the millenium.

Gathering first at Kirkland, Ohio the Latter-day Saints generated by their behaviour and distinctive social organization large numbers of enemies. The fact that they constituted a powerful socio-economic group controlled directly by one man, made them unwelcome in a number of localities. The persecution of the Latter-day Saints necessitated the abandonment and evacuation of several incipient settlements. This harassment culminated in the murder of Smith in 1844 and the expulsion of his followers from Nauvoo, their largest settlement of twenty thousand people, on the Mississippi River in Illinois.

Brigham Young emerged as their new leader and led the Latter-day Saints westwards to an isolated refuge in the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah. It was here that they attempted to build Zion. During these troubled times the L.D.S. social characteristics began to evolve and their method of colonization become distinctive. The constant anti-Mormon sentiments expressed by many parties, together with the physical attacks made upon L.D.S. settlements, had the effect of causing the L.D.S. to become a closely knit community marked by an intense faith and loyalty towards their leaders.

Brigham Young was a strong yet pragmatic leader, who, until his death in 1870, actively encouraged the colonization and building of Zion in the mountains. Mormonism under Young

"de-emphasized contemplation and fostered an active pragmatism," a characteristic retained by the L.D.S. Church today.¹⁰

The early days in Utah saw the evolution of a church orientated community which stressed the need for commitment to the Church and total integration of theological and temporal affairs. It was during this period that the L.D.S. Church became truly a frontier theocracy.

The remoteness and individuality of the Mormon group removed them still further from the inhibitions that discourage innovation in the general society. Hostility, generated by such events as the Mormon war of 1856 and the introduction of plural marriage (polygamy), "set them apart, increased their separateness and thereby weakened the bonds of convention."¹¹

The sense of being a people apart was further increased by the development of a highly organized and extremely powerful central church organization. Mark Twain, during his visit to Utah commented that "the only rival to the Mormon Church in the area of organization is the Prussian army."¹²

Colonization of the West was actively encouraged by Church authorities to the extent of directing Church members to settle certain areas as colonists. Attempts were made by Young to extend the frontiers of Zion by colonization so as to

¹⁰W.J. Whalen, The Latter-day Saints in the Modern World, Univ. Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1957, p. 213.

¹¹O'Dea, op. cit., p. 53.

¹²Quoted in Whalen, op. cit., p. 139.

establish an area, as large as possible, free from gentile encroachment. Colonization, therefore, was undertaken for religious and political motives in addition to economic necessity. Church control made the L.D.S. settlement process unique and the colonization process was far different from any other on the western frontier. Indeed the L.D.S. settlers were radically different in both motivation and outlook from the usual colonist, and this was reflected in aspects of their settlements.

The nature of the history and organization of the L.D.S. Church has meant that Mormonism has become "a total way of life, with the devout Mormon never really leaving his religious shell as he goes about his life in the secular world."¹³ An insight into this dedication to the ideals of the Church is given by Bailey:

. . . every Latter-day Saint considers himself a soldier for God and the Prophet, (Joseph Smith) willing and anxious to sacrifice himself for the salvation of the world. And even today this willingness and sacrifice means strict adherence to the will and order of Church authorities, actually to the point of paying in time and money for the two year mission to any part of the world which they may be called.¹⁴

One aspect of the Latter-day Saints' dedication to an idea was to play a major part in instigating the settlement of areas of Alberta by Church members. This was the Latter-day adherence to the doctrine of plural marriage, which was first officially announced in 1853 but had been practiced previously

¹³Turner, op. cit., p. 244.

¹⁴Bailey, op. cit., p. 2.

as the doctrine "was made known to the Prophet in 1831 or 1832."¹⁵ This doctrine was accepted by the L.D.S. despite their previously monogamous background. Indeed, to embrace polygamy became, in Utah, a measure of a Saint's faith.

Anti-polygamy laws were not enforced in Utah with any degree of severity until the passing of the Edmunds Act in 1882.¹⁶ However, after this date rigorous law enforcement drove many prominent polygamist L.D.S. leaders to seek sanctuary in areas outside the jurisdiction of the United States law. Accordingly, polygamist Church members founded colonies in both Mexico and Alberta, Canada, in order to escape from what they regarded as unjust religious persecution.¹⁷ It was thus to the Mormon acceptance of polygamy that the initial L.D.S. settlements in Alberta owe their origin.

Polygamy, however, did not provide anything greater than the initial motivation for the extension of L.D.S. colonization activities to Canada. The Church authorities revoked the polygamy doctrine by special manifesto in 1890.¹⁸ After this date harassment of polygamous Latter-day Saints by the United States law enforcement agencies became reduced in intensity, especially after the assumption of statehood

¹⁵Smith, The Doctrine and Covenants, op. cit., p. 836.

¹⁶Linn, op. cit., p. 595.

¹⁷R.A. Schwartzlose, The Cultural Geography of Mormon Settlements in Mexico, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of California, Berkley, 1952, pp. 1-184.

¹⁸Smith, The Doctrine and Covenants, op. cit., pp. 836-7.

by the Utah Territory in 1896.¹⁹ Economic factors became of primary importance in maintaining Latter-day Saint colonists in Alberta once the first footholds had been established.

¹⁹Linn, op. cit., p. 608.

CHAPTER III

LATTER-DAY SAINT COLONIZATION IN ALBERTA

Colonization of southwestern Alberta by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was undertaken through an extended time period. The interaction of stimuli originating both in Utah and Alberta resulted in the Latter-day Saint settlement process falling into four major phases, each of which was temporally and spatially separated.

Polygamy - Motivation for Migration

Believing plural marriage to be divinely ordained, the Latter-day Saints openly practiced polygamy after Joseph Smith's revelation on the subject was made public in 1852. Although confined to a small minority of L.D.S. most of whom held positions within the church hierarchy, polygamy came under attack from non-Mormon society. Gentile writers depicted the polygamous Latter-day Saint as lustful and immoral, and polygamy as ". . . a cruel slavery whose chains have cut into the very hearts of thousands . . . a slavery which debases and degrades womanhood, motherhood, and the family."¹

¹Harriet Beecher Stowe, in "Preface" to Tell It All, by Mrs. T.B.H. Stenhouse, A.D. Worthington and Company, Hartford, Conn. 1875. See also B.G. Ferris, Utah and Mormons, Harper Brothers, New York 1854, and S.P. Hirshon, The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young, Knopf, New York, 1969.

Political pressure resulted in the passing of anti-polygamy legislation, none of which was effective in application until the passing of the Edmunds Act in 1882.² The enforcement of this Act necessitated the adoption of a clandestine life style by all polygamous Latter-day Saints. This, together with the increased severity of penalties for polygamy, embodied in the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, combined with an intensified campaign against polygamists in Utah to convince many polygamous L.D.S. that they should seek sanctuary elsewhere, preferably away from the jurisdiction of United States law enforcement agencies.³

Charles Ora Card

Of those who determined to seek sanctuary from constant harrassment, one was Charles Ora Card, President of the Cache Valley Stake of Zion in Utah. Card, a polygamist with four wives, was constantly embarrassed by the actions of his first wife, then seeking divorce, who revealed Card's whereabouts to U.S. marshals at every opportunity.⁴

²The Edmunds Law defined polygamy as a crime, and polygamous living, or unlawful cohabitation, as a separate crime. It deprived all polygamists of the right to vote, hold public office, or to serve as a juror. A maximum penalty for each count of unlawful cohabitation was set at \$300.00 fine and/or six months imprisonment.

³L.B. Lee, "The Mormons Come to Canada, 1887-1902", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 59, No. 1, Jan. 1968, p. 14. For an account of anti-Mormon acts by non-federal agencies, see D.L. Thompson, "Religion and the Idaho Constitution," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 58, No. 4, Oct. 1967, pp. 169-178. The Edmunds-Tucker Act increased penalties for polygamy to disenfranchisement, a \$500.00 fine and not more than three years imprisonment.

⁴A. Wilcox, Founding of the Mormon Community in Alberta, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1950, pp. 23-24.

Initially Card decided to move south, to Arizona or Mexico, but was advised by John D. Taylor, the Church President, to go instead to Canada.⁵ The hope of securing justice under British law, together with Taylor's pro-British sentiments appear to have been instrumental in directing Mormon colonizing endeavours to the British northwest.⁶

The founding of a Mormon colony in Canada was well planned. It was no precipitate flight from justice. In 1886 Card, with two associates, undertook a preliminary reconnaissance of areas of British Columbia and Alberta in order to determine the suitability and availability of lands for settlement by Latter-day Saints.

Travelling initially to British Columbia Card was impressed by the soil and climate but was dissappointed to discover that settlement on anything but an individual basis was impractical, owing to the majority of land with agricultural potential being taken up under grazing leases.⁷ During reconnaissance of southern British Columbia Card encountered an old Montana mountain man who furnished information of the prairie country east of the Rocky Mountains. Description of the vast buffalo range fired Card's imagination, as he exclaimed that where Buffalo could live, Mormons could

⁵Ibid., p. 24. also A.J. Hudson, Charles Ora Card - Pioneer and Colonizer, Published by Author, Cardston, 1963, pp. 82-83 and J.E.W. Bates, Founding of Cardston and Vicinity Pioneer Problems, Published by Author, Cardston, 1960, p. 1.

⁶Loc. cit.

⁷Wilcox, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

live.⁸

Abandoning the reconnaissance of B.C. the party journeyed to Calgary by train. From here they explored the country south as far as the United States border. Although they were impressed by the appearance of the soil in the Calgary area the severity of the climate convinced them to look further south for a prospective settlement location. The quality of land found between the Waterton and Belly rivers together with the milder climate which they encountered south of Fort Macleod convinced Card that a settlement could be profitably located in the Standoff region.⁹ While a practical pioneer Card may have been influenced by the missionary potential of the area. He wrote that "the Lamanites . . . in these parts seemed to be rather lighter complected than we usually find them and seem intelligent for an uncivilized race . . ."¹⁰

Convinced they had found a suitable area for settlement Card's party returned to Utah. They did not decide upon any specific site for settlement location.

The Founding of Cardston

The preparation for the migration of the heads of polygamous families to Alberta went slowly during the winter of 1886 as all preparations were of necessity clandestine.

⁸Bates, op. cit., p. 2.

⁹Wilcox, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁰Entry in Card's Personal Journal, October 22nd 1886, quoted by Wilcox op. cit., p. 93.

It is apparent that from the beginning Card never really seriously contemplated the founding of a permanent settlement in Alberta. Rather he regarded residence in Alberta as a temporary refuge until polygamy be accepted by the United States or the issue be forgotten. Card wrote in December 1886 that he occupied himself ". . . studying the History of British America that I may be posted in that country that I expect to make a short stay in with others of my exiled brethren."¹¹

Although it was originally intended to establish the settlement in Alberta with a group of forty one families, the increased vigilance of United States marshalls in 1887 caused disruption. As a result, a reduced number of settlers started for Alberta. Card and his fellow colonists found it necessary to depart without sufficient preparation, and were unable to travel as a group.¹²

Despite this setback, eight families, forty one persons, all from the Cache Valley of Utah, entered Canada and sought a settlement site in the area south of Fort Macleod.

The Establishment of Cardston

The choice of a site for the location of the initial settlement was undertaken by Card and three others who preceded the majority of settlers. Their first choice of a site was frustrated by the land being taken up under ranch

¹¹Ibid., p. 99.

¹²M.S. Tagg, A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Canada, 1830-1963, Unpublished Ph. D thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1963, p. 100.

leases. Unable to gain an opening by purchase, the Saints were forced to head south towards Lee's Creek. Here they learned from two settlers, ex-Mounted Police officers, of a grazing lease located adjacent to the Blood Indian Reservation, which had been taken out, but not being stocked within the required two year limit, had expired and become vacant.¹³ The land was thus available for homesteading.

Although not immediately impressed with the extent of high quality land the party concluded that this site afforded the best available site for settlement.¹⁴ The factors influencing the choice of site were primarily availability of land not taken up under grazing leases, and the need for water supply. Entirely different factors, however, were responsible for the selection of the general location of southern Alberta.

It is submitted that the principal reason for the selection of a site south of Fort Macleod was a desire to be in close proximity to the United States border. All of the initial settlers were subject to arrest in the United States under the Edmunds Act and it is safe to assume that most, like Card, viewed their stay in Canada as being merely temporary.¹⁵

Despite the theological motives underlying the migration, the Mormon Church played little part in assisting

¹³Bates, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁴Tagg, op. cit., pp. 104-106.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 98-99. All the males in the initial party of settlers were the heads of polygamist households. As they each brought only one wife to Canada they did not practise polygamy in Canada although they remained polygamists. Card for example maintained two households in Utah apart from that in Cardston.

the establishment of settlement in Canada, suggesting that in the early years the Church viewed the settlement as a peripheral venture, worthy of encouragement and advice but little else. No financial aid was given. Card was restricted in his choice of colonists by the Church which refused to allow him to invite any Church members not disenfranchised to Canada. The Church was eager to retain what little remained of its political influence in Utah.¹⁶ Although direct Church assistance was lacking Latter-day Saints benefitted by their extraordinary group solidarity and the dynamic leadership of experienced pioneers such as Card, who combined the functions of temporal and spiritual leadership.¹⁷ Latter-day Saint cohesiveness provided a measure of survival value in the frontier situation. Although thought to be a cause of the forced abandonment of the Mexican settlements,¹⁸ this solidarity proved to be a valuable asset in the Canadian case.

Adaption of the L.D.S. Settlement Process to Alberta

The Latter-day Saint settlement form, that of the nucleated farm village, evolved in Utah, an area not subject to a sectional survey system. The Latter-day Saints therefore attempted to secure special privileges in exemption from the

¹⁶Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁷Card had crossed the Great Plains with his parents at age sixteen as a member of a hand cart company. Later he pioneered the Cache Valley of Utah.

¹⁸B. Carmon Hardy, "Cultural Encystment as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 34, Nov. 1965, pp. 439-54.

normal homestead requirements.¹⁹ Their aim was to establish a contiguous Latter-day Saint block settlement, although in 1887 only even numbered sections of land were open to homesteading. Card therefore attempted to maintain group solidarity by establishing four Latter-day Saint families upon each section of homestead land, with the aim of eventually purchasing the adjacent railway lands and thereby effectively excluding outsiders.²⁰

Apart from this, efforts were made to persuade the Federal Government to relax their restrictions upon the purchase of blocks of land, so as to facilitate the creation of a nucleated settlement pattern.

Initially the townsite was established upon the homestead property of Card. When expansion became necessary, it was on to the pre-empted property of Card, which had to be purchased from the government. However, the situation regarding the allocation of lands to homesteaders was not to the liking of the L.D.S., as only alternate sections were available. By the fall of 1888, the settlers wished to enlarge their land holdings but were reluctant to do so until the situation regarding the land was clarified.²¹ Accordingly, they dispatched a delegation to Ottawa with a petition requesting that they be given "title to Hamlet, which consists

¹⁹Bates, op. cit., pp. 70-73.

²⁰Wilcox, op. cit., p. 87.

²¹Tagg, op. cit., pp. 138-9.

of N 1/2 Sec. 9, Tp. 3, R. 25, W. 4th. I.M." which was to be held in trust for the settlers by Card.²² Regarding other farmlands they requested that:

. . . our people have the privilege of purchasing from the Government all lands that they shall require for farming and grazing purposes at one dollar and twenty five cents per acre, with three years and one half to pay for the same. . . .²³

The party also put in a request that polygamous Latter-day Saints be allowed to bring all their families to Cardston. Had this request been granted, it would have laid open the way to Cardston becoming the most important settlement of the Latter-day Saints. However, the Government were not willing to make any concessions to polygamy and shortly afterwards introduced legislation under the Thompson Act to outlaw polygamy in Canada.

The Government were not willing to encourage block settlement by any minority group after the failure of group settlement by the Mennonites of Manitoba. They therefore allowed only the purchase of the townsite and any available land in the surrounding four townships at \$1.25 per acre. All other lands were to be acquired under the existing homestead regulations.

Having partially failed in their request, the Latter-day Saints decided to purchase railway lands as a means of avoiding a widely dispersed settlement pattern and enabling

²²Petition to the Honourable E. Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, Nov. 9th, 1888, Quoted in Bates, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

²³Loc. cit.

the farm village form of settlement to be retained.

Expansion from Cardston

The Woodruff Manifesto of 1890 suspended the practice of polygamy in the Mormon Church. This, together with the light sentences given under the Edmunds Tucker Act in the period following publication of the Manifesto, effectively slowed the rate of immigration of Latter-day Saints into Cardston.²⁴ The settlement expanded slowly since the major stimulus for growth had been removed.

The years following 1890 saw the beginning of a period of consolidation of L.D.S. settlements in Alberta. The settlements of Aetna, Mountain View, Beazer and Leavitt were established between 1890 and 1893.²⁵ Had the Church wished financially to encourage settlement in Alberta before 1890, it would have been unable to do so as the bulk of its property and finances were confiscated under the Edmunds Tucker Act, in an attempt to destroy the Church as an institution. However, the Woodruff Manifesto laid open the way for return of Church property. The years following 1893 saw the Church in a position to inject capital into the Alberta settlements. It did this by leasing, later purchasing large areas of land east of the Saint Mary River to be used as a temporary Church ranch, so providing a job source for

²⁴The Manifesto of President Wilford Woodruff, First President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, issued September 24, 1890, suspended the practice but not the principle of polygamy within the Church.

²⁵Aetna was established in 1890, Mountain View 1890, Beazer 1891, and Leavitt 1893.

the L.D.S. in Cardston. Latter-day Saints were permitted to purchase small areas for settlement but only in cases of necessity and upon the personal recommendation of Card.²⁶ This did not, therefore, constitute an example of the Church providing land for its settlers on a large scale.

The period from 1887 until 1898 may be viewed as one of establishment and consolidation of settlement with the prime impetus for the foundation of settlement being the anti-polygamy legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States. The areal distribution of the settlements of this period was restricted to the area to the west and south of Cardston. As yet, economic pressures were not sufficient to attract the land-hungry Latter-day Saints of Utah, to what was possibly only a short term settlement venture. The Church too, was anxious that only polygamous Saints disenfranchised under the Edmunds Tucker Act, should settle in Alberta. The voting Mormon was a precious asset to be retained in Utah so as to strengthen the position of the Church.

Irrigation: The Second Migration

Involvement with small scale irrigation schemes in the arid environment of the Great Basin of Utah led to the Latter-day Saints becoming associated with the development of irrigation in Alberta. Initially, lack of capital and physical difficulties restricted their irrigation efforts to

²⁶Wilcox, op. cit., p. 72.

small areas located upon the river flats. Contrary to popular Mormon belief, this did not constitute the first instance of irrigation in Alberta, as a similar style of small scale irrigation was practised in Alberta before the arrival of the Latter-day Saints.²⁷ Deeply incised rivers and creeks were instrumental in restricting early Mormon irrigation efforts to small acreages.

An attempt at land speculation and the introduction of large scale irrigation by C. O. Card and Apostle John W. Taylor failed through a lack of capital and an inability to secure Government permission to construct large scale irrigation works. This venture did, however, attract the attention of the Alberta Railway and Coal Company which developed an interest in irrigating its lands located east of Cardston. Charles Magrath, the company manager, journeyed to Utah with Card to view L.D.S. irrigation works.²⁸ He became convinced of both the feasibility and potential of irrigation in Alberta.

Utilization of railway lands for irrigation was complicated by the alternate arrangement of sections of land owned by the railway, making construction of irrigation canals extremely difficult. It was not until 1896 that representation to the Government was successful in converting railway lands

²⁷C. S. Burchill, "Origins of Canadian Irrigation Law," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 29, December 1948, pp. 358-361.

²⁸C. A. Magrath was not a member of the L.D.S. Church, although he maintained a high regard for the qualities of the Latter-day Saint pioneer.

into a solid block. This permission also brought about formation of the Alberta Irrigation Company with Elliot Galt, President of the Alberta Railway and Coal Company, as its president.

In 1897 Galt contacted the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City with a proposal of contract for L.D.S. colonization on irrigation company land east of Cardston. Under the terms of this contract the Church agreed to supply labour for the irrigation project and settlers for the irrigated lands. In return, the company would provide two townsites and labourers would receive their wages half in cash and the balance in land at the rate of three dollars an acre.

The Mormon Church involvement in irrigation in Alberta was a response to mounting economic pressures in Utah and a desire to extend the frontiers of Zion.²⁹ However, the expected rush of Latter-day Saints from Utah did not materialize and initially the majority of workers on the irrigation project came from Cardston.³⁰ An intensive propaganda campaign by the Church and the Latter-day Saints in Canada citing the attractions of cheap land in Alberta proved to be only moderately successful in attracting colonists from Utah and Idaho.³¹ Fearing that the Church would be unable to complete its contract to supply labour, the First Presidency

²⁹J. R. Hicken, Events Leading to the Settlement of the Communities of Cardston, Magrath, Stirling and Raymond, Alberta, Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, 1968, pp. 72-75.

³⁰Ibid., p. 73.

³¹Tagg, op. cit., p. 184, also Hicken, op. cit., p. 73-5.

of the Church issued special calls to Latter-day Saints throughout Utah and Idaho to work, and in some cases to settle, in Alberta. Many of those called, considered it a temporary "mission" for the Church and did not intend to remain after completion of the irrigation contract. However, the partial payment for labour by land proved a strong incentive to remain in Alberta.³²

The two settlements surveyed as a part of the contract, Stirling and Magrath, were populated almost entirely by Latter-day Saints. The Church was active in providing aid in the form of work for its settlers, although perhaps of greater importance was its role in providing dynamic leadership for the incipient settlements.³³ Few other settlements can have had leaders with the imagination of Taylor, the faith of Card or the ability of Brandley. The majority of settlers were of a calibre seldom found elsewhere, sustained in their endeavours by the conviction that they were working to build Zion.

Not all the Latter-day Saints were "called" to Canada and reasons for migration from the United States were many. Some were motivated by the need for land which in Utah was becoming increasingly scarce. Others came for personal

³²Wages for a man and team were \$4.00 per day, half in cash and half in scrip. With the scrip they were allowed to purchase any land under the ditch for \$3.00 per acre plus \$1.00 a year water tax.

³³Apostle John W. Taylor was sent by the Church to organise the L.D.S. in Alberta in 1890. He was an enthusiastic proponent of L.D.S. settlement in southern Alberta. Theodore Brandley, mayor of Richfield, Utah, patriarch and bishop in the Church, was called to lead the pioneers of Stirling by the First Presidency of the L.D.S. Church.

reasons but unlike the initial movement to Alberta in 1887, none came through polygamy. This second wave of migrants marked the end of a long period of consolidation by L.D.S. settlers and ushered in the beginning of a period of expansion.

Extension of Irrigation: Raymond

In 1892 John W. Taylor advocated the establishment of a sugar-beet factory to C. A. Magrath of the Alberta Irrigation Company. In 1900 Magrath distributed beet seeds to L.D.S. settlers in the Magrath and Stirling areas. The resultant crops from these seeds proved, on analysis, to compare favourably in sugar content with the beets grown in Utah.³⁴

Taylor succeeded in interesting Jesse Knight, a philanthropic Utah businessman and prominent Latter-day Saint, in the idea of establishing a sugar-beet factory in Alberta. Knight financed and built the sugar factory "not as a commercial enterprise so much as for the benefit of the settlers in the surrounding country."³⁵ He also purchased 226,000 acres of land from the Alberta Railway and Coal Company, had his sugar-beet factory in operation by 1903 and kept it operating for twelve years. Knight also undertook to plow 3,000 acres of virgin soil before December, 1901, so that it would be available for sugar-beet culture by 1903.³⁶

³⁴C. A. Magrath, The Galts, Father and Son, and How Alberta Grew Up, Lethbridge Herald, Lethbridge, Alberta, 1937, pp. 53-4.

³⁵Ibid., p. 57.

³⁶J. W. Knight, The Jesse Knight Family, Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1941, p. 56.

Settlers soon began to enter the Raymond area and the settlement of Raymond was established and grew rapidly. Initially the majority of settlers were from Utah and Idaho; but by 1903 Latter-day Saints from Colorado and Arizona as well as from Europe were migrating into the Raymond area.³⁷

Ironically, beet growing was not a success due to the poor use made of irrigation by the majority of Latter-day Saints.³⁸ Many L.D.S. came to Alberta with the intention of getting out of sugar-beet farming, with its heavy demands on labour, and therefore grew beets for a limited time only, before switching to other crops.³⁹

Despite this, Knight's venture was an invaluable aid in the early days of settlement in Raymond, providing a valuable source of income for many struggling farmers, and acting as a stabilizing force in the delicate pioneer economy.

By the end of 1903 the third wave of Latter-day Saint settlers to Alberta was declining in numbers as the land under irrigation was occupied. The days of massive migration by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into Alberta were over. Further migration would continue but would be on a minor scale, or be merely internal adjustments of surplus population of the older established Albertan settlements.

³⁷Pers. comm. Dr. A. E. Palmer, Lethbridge.

³⁸R. W. Hill and A. E. Palmer, Irrigation Farming in Southern Alberta, Dept. of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1953, p. 2.

³⁹Pers. comm. J. W. Alston, Magrath.

The Fringe Settlements

Whilst the bulk of the L.D.S. immigrants into Alberta located in the Magrath, Stirling and Raymond area, many chose not to move into L.D.S. dominated areas but moved instead into new areas being opened up for irrigation by the Canadian Pacific Railway, so becoming mixed with settlers not of their faith. The settlements of Barnwell and Taber (Map II) were established by the Latter-day Saints, though in the latter case they never constituted an absolute majority of the population. Being a closely knit group, however, their influence was greater than their numbers would suggest and they were successful in imparting to the settlement many of the characteristics of the Mormon village.

Not all migrants from the L.D.S. areas of the United States entered Alberta with the intention of seeking land under irrigation. Some moved north of the Oldman River searching for homestead land, although they only established two settlements: Orton and Frankburg (Map II). The majority of the L.D.S. north of the Oldman homesteaded individually and were absorbed into non-L.D.S. settlements.

Both Orton and Frankburg were settlements established by related family groups of Latter-day Saint pioneers. One group led by C. E. Frank of Soutaguin, Utah, moved into the High River area to find a contiguous area of homestead land for settlement by a group.⁴⁰ The desire to maintain group

⁴⁰ Pers. comm. E. L. Anderson, Calgary.

solidarity by establishing a farm village settlement was sufficiently strong to lead them to outlying areas in search of large areas of land suitable for group settlement. Neither Orton nor Frankburg were successful settlements. Frankburg was abandoned in 1936 when the majority of the population relocated in the Rosemary area. Orton has struggled to survive drought and the failure of poorly planned irrigation and has always been a marginal settlement.⁴¹

By 1905 Latter-day Saint immigration to Alberta had virtually ceased. However, in 1906 the Mormon Church purchased the Cochrane Ranch with the intention of opening the lands to colonization by Latter-day Saints. Settlers moved into this area between 1908 and 1910, establishing the final L.D.S. settlements in Alberta. Whilst settlers from Utah and Idaho moved into this area the movement was essentially of local Mormons, the majority being from the Caldwell and Cardston areas. Surprisingly, this last movement was the one most closely controlled by the Church authorities (see Chapter V).

Conclusion

The settlement process of the L.D.S. in Alberta may be viewed as four distinct phases, each of which was a response to a different set of stimuli, and which had a distinct areal location. Throughout the entire process the influence of Church leadership is readily apparent. It is

⁴¹Pers. comm. W. Orr, Orton. For a sociological account of Orton until 1930 see C. A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1936, pp. 175-272.

this latter aspect which imparts the unique character to the settlement process of the Latter-day Saints in Alberta.

The four phases of settlement may be summarised as follows: (1) settlement of Cardston, polygamy being the direct cause, followed by consolidation and slow expansion from Cardston until 1898; (2) introduction of irrigation by the Alberta Irrigation Company in cooperation with the Mormon Church in 1898 and the settlement of Magrath and Stirling; (3) settlement of Raymond in 1901 and the introduction of sugar-beet cultivation and factory by Jesse Knight; and (4) purchase of the Cochrane Ranch in 1906 and the settlement of Glenwood and Hillspring, 1908 and 1910 respectively.

During the period covered by the last three phases of settlement there was also a considerable amount of settlement by individuals and family groups of L.D.S., some of whom established settlements although others became dispersed in isolated homesteads.

In terms of numbers alone, the second and third phases of settlement were the most important. These phases saw a period of rapid expansion of Mormon settlement. Despite this, the period of initial settlement, 1887-1898, was perhaps the more significant in that it prepared the way for the later rapid expansions.

The closing of the Latter-day Saint settlement frontier in Alberta was marked by the colonization of the Cochrane Ranch in the years 1908-1910.

CHAPTER IV

LATTER-DAY SAINT VILLAGE MORPHOLOGY IN ALBERTA

Inadequacy of Previous Analysis

Entering southern Alberta in 1887 Latter-day Saint pioneers brought in a pattern and technique of land settlement, which until that date, had been unique to the Intermontane West of the United States.

Explanations of this unique settlement process have been largely based upon evidence gained from the core area of Mormon settlement in the Great Basin of Utah. A failure to give adequate consideration to the survival of Latter-day Saint settlement forms in other environments, as in southern Alberta, has resulted in the formulation and acceptance of inadequate hypotheses. Undue stress has been placed upon deterministic factors and the influence of a master plan for a City of Zion, drawn up by Joseph Smith in 1831.

By a study of Latter-day Saint settlements in Alberta it is possible to formulate explanations as to the origins of L.D.S. settlement forms. The influence of environmental factors upon settlement morphology can be shown to be minimal. The role of the Plat of Zion may be placed in correct perspective with respect to settlements in Alberta.

The absence of any detailed geographical appraisal of Latter-day Saint settlement morphology in Alberta has

resulted in an undue degree of generalization upon this topic. With this study it is hoped to remedy this and to complement the work of Baum on the L.D.S. village in Utah.¹

The evolution of Latter-day Saint settlements may also be analysed and the adaption of the settlement to changing economic and social conditions recorded. Future development and modifications are suggested, thereby attempting a geographical analysis of an Albertan settlement type as yet given but superficial consideration by the settlement geographer.

The Latter-day Saint Village

At the time of the settlement of the Great Plains and the Prairies the usual form of settlement was that of the dispersed isolated farmstead; the einzelfhof type. The Latter-day Saints developed a distinctive style of nucleated village settlement with which they colonized large areas of the United States Intermontane West.²

The majority of L.D.S. villages were farm villages, so called through the practice of locating the major farm buildings, barns, outhouses, sheds and farmhouses, upon a village lot. The farmsteads were therefore located within the village, the village lot a base for the farming of the surrounding agricultural land.

¹J. H. Baum, Geographical Characteristics of Early Mormon Settlements, Unpublished M.Sc. thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, 1967.

²L. Nelson, The Mormon Village, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1952. pp. 3-22.

The L.D.S. farm village does not possess any one feature, common to all, which would ease recognition or definition of this settlement type. It has a number of common features, some or all of which may be found in any L.D.S. village. The history and development of this unusual settlement type has sufficient bearing upon the present morphology of L.D.S. villages in Alberta to warrant its further consideration.

The Evolution of the L.D.S. Village

Whilst there is a considerable literature upon the Latter-day Saint villages of the Mormon Intermontane West there has been a considerable degree of over generalization and resultant misinterpretation of their exact conformation. A number of characteristics common to many have been held to be the results of inflexible Church rules governing the layout of all L.D.S. villages.

Recent studies, notably those of Baum, Francaviglia, and Rosenvall, have indicated that in the United States L.D.S. settlements possess many common features, although they also display wide variations in their morphology.³

The Plat of Zion

As noted in Chapter II the history of the Latter-day Saint farm village is rooted in the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Joseph Smith

³Pers. comm., Prof. L. Rosenvall, The University of Calgary, cf also Baum, op. cit., pp. 114-115, and R. V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image of the American West," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 2, 1970, p. 59.

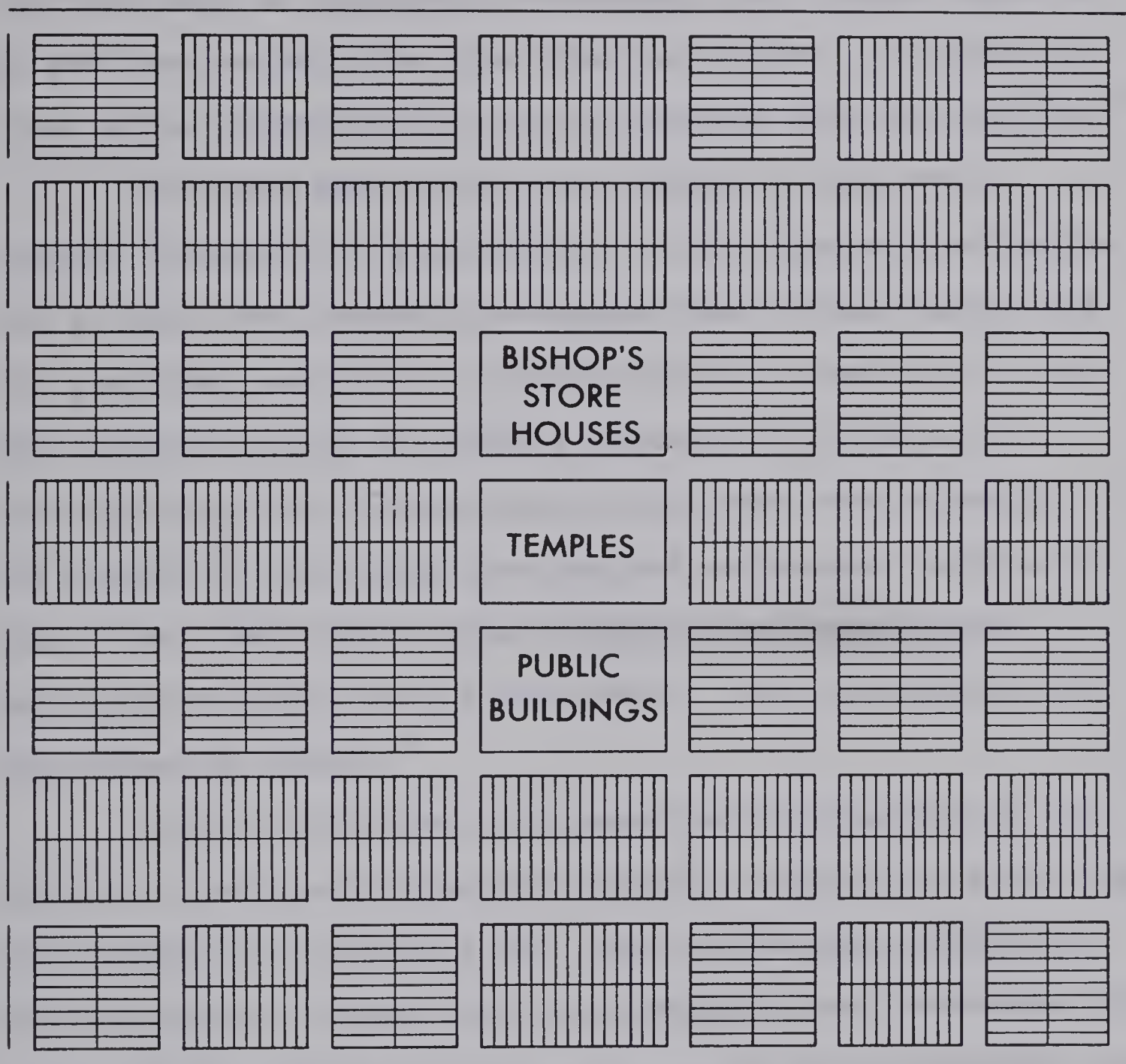
in 1831. From the beginning Smith began to apply the basic tenets of his philosophy to Church organization. Of these, a belief in the imminence of the millenium and the consequent necessity for the gathering of Zion were paramount. The Church hierarchy saw a need to establish a new Zion, Christ's intended Kingdom upon Earth. Accordingly, the Latter-day Saints established a series of settlements, the layout of each based upon a Plat of Zion (Map III). This plan was probably derived by Joseph Smith, based upon descriptions of biblical settlements as recorded in the Old Testament.⁴ Its origin, however, is not clearly stated by Latter-day Saint theologians. The Plat was implemented in the early settlements established by the Latter-day Saints in both Illinois and Missouri prior to the move West.⁵

The Plat of Zion stipulated that all people should live within the city; the area of the city to be one square mile and the blocks of ten acres subdivided into twenty half acre lots. One house only was to be built on any lot. Streets were to be 132 feet (8 rods) in width, intersecting at right angles and being aligned to the cardinal points of the compass. The central tier of blocks was to be fifty per cent wider and was to be set aside for schools, churches and public buildings. Stables and barns were to be located

⁴L. Nelson, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵Idem, "The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins," The Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters: Proceedings, Vol. VI. 1929, p. 20.

THE PLAT OF ZION



0 500
SCALE IN YARDS.

SOURCE: *The Office of the Church Historian,
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.*

MAP III

outside the city limits, with farm lands laid off north and south of the city. Lands located east or west were to be utilized only if absolutely necessary. All houses were to be set back twenty five feet from the street. A number of other minor specifications were also laid down in the Plat.⁶

This was essentially an attempt to plan for a Utopian community in preparation for the imminent millenium, yet it took into account the necessities of the moment and the practical needs of a frontier farming community.⁷ The New England origins of leading members of the Church hierarchy has led to speculation that they were strongly influenced by contemporary New England settlement morphology, this being reflected in their adoption of the strongly nucleated village form of settlement. This hypothesis is discounted by Nelson.⁸

The Plat of Zion made possible the creation of a strongly nucleated village settlement to which the Latter-day Saints adhered throughout all their colonizing endeavours. This nucleated village form strengthened group awareness and cohesion, creating a social environment which encouraged the development of group solidarity and a sense of security.

The ultimate abandonment of Nauvoo and other Mid-West

⁶For the Plat of Zion see: Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. 1, Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City, 1957, pp. 357-359.

⁷Nelson, The Mormon Village, op. cit., p. 38.

⁸Ibid, p. 25ff. Nelson noted that other New England groups failed to adopt a nucleated pattern of settlement when colonizing the Great Plains.

settlements modelled on the Plat of Zion was in no way a result of any deficiency of settlement design but was necessitated by the harassment of the Latter-day Saints by violently anti-Mormon groups in the surrounding districts.

On moving west and relocating in the Great Basin of Utah, the Latter-day Saints again used the Plat of Zion as a model for the layout of their early settlements. Under the direction of Brigham Young the first L.D.S. settlement of the Intermontane West, Salt Lake City, was laid out basically following the Plat of Zion, yet deviating from it in several matters of detail. Subsequent settlements founded by Latter-day Saint pioneers in Utah, Idaho and Arizona reflect in some measure the influence of the initial Salt Lake City settlement layout, and as a consequence that of the Plat of Zion.

Latter-day Saint villages in the United States show wide variations in their morphology,⁹ despite the early influence of the Plat of Zion. Nelson stated in 1952 that not all L.D.S. villages follow a standard layout or plan,¹⁰ yet until both Baum and Rosenvall illustrated this wide variation in block size, street width and size of lot, the myth persisted that all Latter-day Saint settlements were faithful reproductions of the Plat of Zion.¹¹

⁹Baum, op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁰Nelson, The Mormon Village, op. cit., p. 27.

¹¹Pers. comm., Prof. L. Rosenvall, The University of Calgary.

Latter-day Saint Villages in Alberta

The Albertan Latter-day Saint settlements afford an opportunity to examine the establishment, growth and evolution of the L.D.S. settlement process outside the United States. Their examination provides an opportunity to assess the degree to which the nucleated village of the Latter-day Saints may have been the result of rigid adherence to the Plat of Zion, fear of Indian aggression, a response to irrigation needs, implementation of New England settlement forms, the first step toward the establishment of a communistic society or the means to ensure the survival of a theocratic social organization.

Latter-day Saints established nineteen settlements in southern Alberta. Thirteen of these were nucleated farm villages (Fig. 1). Six settlements are difficult to classify as information regarding their morphology is limited, there being few written sources on record, no existing plans, and in two cases, few remaining traces of the settlements.

Field research and consultation of original survey plans found Welling, Woolford and Barnwell not to be true nucleated farm villages. The abandoned settlements of Caldwell and Frankburg cause difficulty in classification owing to an absence of data. Few traces of either settlement remain and reliable information as to their morphology is lacking. Taylorville is also difficult to classify, though limited sources indicate that a townsite was never

Settlement	Date	Block size	Street Width	Settlement Type
Cardston	1887	8.4 acres	99/66	F.V.
Aetna	1890	7.25 acres	99	F.V.
Mt. View	1890	7.25 acres	99	F.V.
Beazer	1891	4.2 acres	99	F.V.
Leavitt	1893	5.6 acres	66	F.V.
Kimball	1897	10.0 acres	100/80	F.V.
Magrath	1898	10.0 acres	132/100	F.V.
Caldwell	1898	-	-	-
Stirling	1898	10.0 acres	100	F.V.
Taylorville	1898	-	-	-
Woolford	1900	-	-	-
Orton	1901	8.0 acres	100	F.V.
Raymond	1901	10.0 acres	132/100	F.V.
Welling	1901	-	-	STRASSEN- DORF
Barnwell	1902	-	100	-
Frankburg	1902	-	-	-
Taber	1903	10.0 acres	100	F.V.
Glenwood	1908	8.0 acres	82.5/66	F.V.
Hillspring	1910	5.6 acres	99/82.5/66	F.V.

F.V. = Farm village laid out in grid pattern.

Fig. 1. Latter-day Saint settlements in Alberta.

surveyed.¹² It is therefore probable that the settlement did not possess the nucleated characteristics of the Latter-day Saint farm village.

The village of Welling, established in 1901, was never a true farm village being essentially a series of L.D.S. farmsteads strung out along the Cardston - Lethbridge highway. No attempt was made by either the Church or settlers to group the farms into a nucleated village and the village remains essentially unplanned.¹³

Woolford is also a linear settlement which exhibits nothing of the planned nature of the nucleated farm village. Barnwell, although surveyed, possesses irregular blocks and small lots, suggesting it never functioned as a true farm village.

The morphology of the two abandoned villages remains open to doubt. Caldwell appears never to have developed into a true village, remaining an agglomeration of a limited number of farmsteads.¹⁴ It did, however, serve as the centre of a L.D.S. ward organization for a short period, although the settlement never experienced any appreciable growth. Little now remains of Caldwell, no trace of any street pattern exists, no plan of survey is recorded and the toponym

¹²No plan of survey is on file in Cardston M. D. office. All other townsite surveys for the Municipal District of Cardston No. 6 are recorded, suggesting that Taylorville was never laid out in accordance with an official survey.

¹³Pers. comm., E. K. Bullock, Welling.

¹⁴Pers. comm., A. D. Nielson, Glenwood.

survives only through the location of a post office at that point.

Frankburg, founded in 1902, was abandoned by the Latter-day Saints in 1937, the occupants moving to Rosemary to obtain land then being opened up for irrigation by the Canadian Pacific Railway.¹⁵ As with Caldwell it is difficult to determine settlement morphology as no settlement survey is recorded. Contemporary field observations are of limited value and the locating of previous residents of the village is difficult owing to their dispersal since 1937. It would appear, however, that the settlement did not progress sufficiently to warrant the laying out of a street plan, but that "plans in the beginning were to have wide streets such as in Salt Lake City,"¹⁶ that is, to adopt the morphology of the farm village.

Functional and Morphological Changes of the L.D.S. Village

The Latter-day Saint village is essentially an agricultural unit, a framework in which agriculture may be pursued. In almost every case all farm buildings, including the dwelling place, barns, sheds, outhouses, etc., were initially located on lots within the village limits. This was a contradiction of instructions given by Smith for the Plat of Zion stating that all livestock should be located

¹⁵ Pers. comm., L. Anderson, Calgary.

¹⁶ Ibid.

outside the village limits.¹⁷

Certain of the thirteen Albertan settlements described as farm villages (Fig. 1) display little evidence of their agricultural origins. The introduction of modern transportation and the development of the larger villages from purely agricultural units into local service centres has reduced the farm function of the village.

The availability of cheap motor transportation in the 1930s enabled the L.D.S. farmer to move away from the village community, locate upon his farm land outside the village limits, yet remain an active member of Church and community. The 1930s therefore constitute a chronological water-shed in L.D.S. village development, the depression and motor vehicle heralding a period of decline for the Latter-day Saint village in Alberta and United States.¹⁸

Decline in farming activity centred upon the village lot has been accelerated by enactment of health and sanitation by-laws regulating or prohibiting the keeping of livestock within village limits.¹⁹ Dereliction of barns is common. They constitute a diminishing component of the farm village.

Change in function has frequently been paralleled by change in village morphology. As the farm function declined commercial and residential development utilized lots initially occupied by farms. Cardston and Raymond have been

¹⁷ Joseph Smith, op. cit., p. 357.

¹⁸ Pers. comm., Prof. L. Rozenvall, The University of Calgary.

¹⁹ Pers. comm., B. Hirshe, Stirling.

modified in this fashion; today neither displays much evidence of the initial village function.

Village Morphology

Latter-day Saint villages in Alberta exhibit wide variations in morphology. Few accord with the Plat of Zion even with basic elements such as street width, block size or lot size. Wide variations among villages are also apparent. However all settlements laid down in accordance with a surveyed plan took the form of a grid, with square blocks and streets intersecting at right angles.

The Plat of Zion called for all village blocks to be of ten acres. Only five of thirteen Albertan settlements were given blocks of this size (Fig. 1). Block sizes for the remainder range from those of 4.2 acres in Beazer to 8.4 acres in Cardston. In all cases blocks were square not rectangular.

All settlements display a surprising variety in both block size and the method of subdivision into smaller lots. Village lots were generally of one acre or more, with the largest of two acres being found in Orton. The majority of settlements have blocks subdivided into eight lots, thereby creating a wide range of lot sizes depending directly upon the size of the block. This variation in block and lot size is not peculiar to the Alberta L.D.S. villages. Baum illustrated a similar diversity in Utah and showed that even in the core area of L.D.S. settlement the ten acre block is

the exception.²⁰

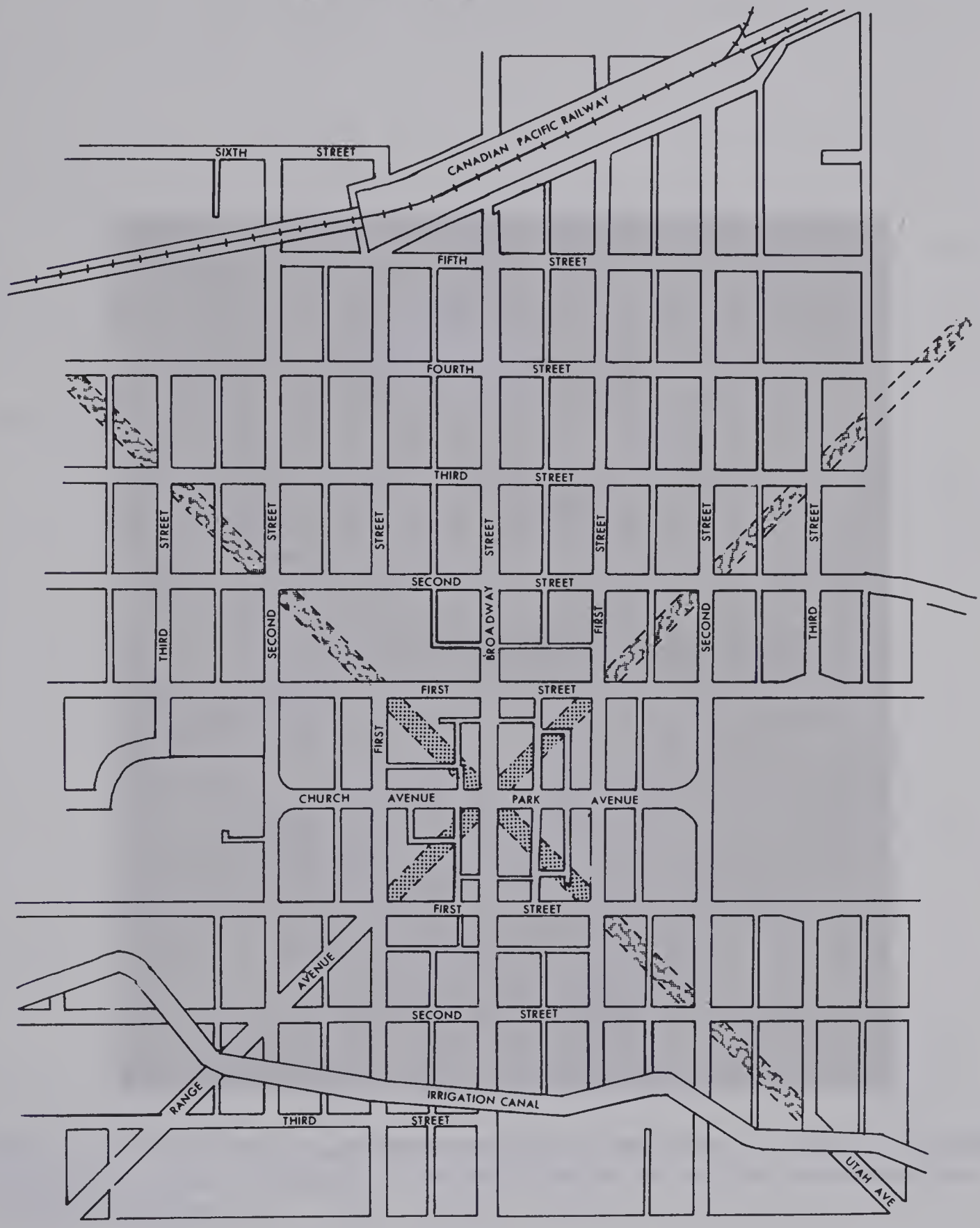
Although the Plat of Zion called for streets of eight rods (132 feet) only two settlements in Alberta, Magrath and Raymond, achieved even major streets of this width (Fig. 1). Street width varied from 66 feet (4 rods) to 132 feet (8 rods). Streets were most commonly of 99 or 100 feet in width (6 rods).

While the majority of settlements had a uniformity of street width, in many the streets forming the major village axes were of greater width, as in Magrath where the major axes were of 132 feet, and secondary streets of 100 feet. Variations amongst the villages as to the number and arrangement of streets of superior width further confused the situation. Hillspring is a modification of this style with two major streets of 82.5 feet (5 rods) aligned east-west and the single major axis of 99 feet (6 rods) running north-south. All other streets are of 66 feet (4 rods). Glenwood displays another variation; three centrally located avenues lying north-south, each of 82.5 feet, and all secondary streets 66 feet wide. Kimball is similar with a single street of 100 feet, all others of 80 feet.



Despite great variation in street width and lot size there was but one departure from the grid system of streets. Raymond was surveyed with two major diagonal axes superimposed upon a grid pattern oriented to the cardinal points of the

²⁰Baum,op. cit., p. 2.

RAYMOND



0 1500
SCALE IN FEET

-  STREETS CLOSED BEFORE 1925
-  STREETS CLOSED 1925-1940

Map IV

Source: Oldman River Regional Planning
Commission Lethbridge, and field
observation.



Fig. 2. Vertical Air Photograph of Raymond. Scale 1:28,000
Traces of the original diagonal axis of major streets are
still visible.

compass (Map IV and Fig. 2). The four major axes each 132 feet in width, met at the village centre to form a radial or hub street pattern. All secondary streets were of 99 feet. As far as can be ascertained this pattern is unique amongst Latter-day Saint settlements in North America. The reasons for this radical modification of the usual grid are not clear. Apostle John W. Taylor recommended the design,²¹ reportedly being influenced by the street pattern of the L'Etoile district of Paris.²²

The radial design did not prove to be a success when implemented in Raymond as it created problems associated with irregular blocks and lots. Raymond did not develop to a sufficient size to warrant such a massive street network. Accordingly the town closed the major diagonal axes lying within the central four blocks in 1925, and completed the process for the remainder by 1940.²³ Little now remains of this unusual street pattern save one small section of the diagonal axis (Map IV and Fig. 2).

²¹Apostle John W. Taylor, a polygamist L.D.S. leader was called to Alberta by the First Presidency of the Church in 1890 to organize the Alberta Stake of Zion and encourage the early colonists. Taylor was an Apostle of the Church given the authority to perform polygamous marriages outside a Latter-day Saint Temple. He is not to be confused with his father, President John Taylor, the First President of the Church referred to on page 62.

²²Pers. comm., Dr. A. E. Palmer, Lethbridge.

²³Pers. comm., W. L. Jones, Raymond.

Modification of the Plat of Zion

The pragmatic approach of the Latter-day Saints to settlement design is shown by their failure to adhere to any one village plan. No settlements were laid out totally in accordance with the Plat of Zion, even for such basic criteria as block size or street width, even though many settlements were planned by orthodox Latter-day Saint leaders.

Cardston, the initial settlement, was planned and surveyed by Charles Ora Card, yet failed to correspond either with the Plat of Zion or Salt Lake City.²⁴ Settlements subsequently established by the L.D.S. in the Cardston region, Aetna, Mountain View, Beazer and Kimball, all differed in morphological detail. Aetna, the second settlement to be established was surveyed and planned by Card and John W. Taylor, both Latter-day Saints of remarkable orthodoxy.²⁵ The settlement was surveyed with blocks of 7.2 acres and streets 99 feet wide. There was little correspondence therefore with the Plat of Zion apart from the use of a grid pattern. Had the Plat of Zion any religious significance to

²⁴At a time when polygamy was a measure of a Saint's religious commitment and was restricted to established members of the Church hierarchy (perhaps five-ten per cent of all Latter-day Saints,) all the heads of families in Cardston 1887 were polygamists. C. O. Card had been First President of the Cache Valley Stake in Utah. The community was therefore highly orthodox in its attitudes toward the implementation of L.D.S. doctrine.

At the time of the establishment of Cardston Charles Ora Card was President of the Cache Valley Stake, Cardston being a ward of the Cache Valley Stake until the organization of the Alberta Stake of Zion in 1895. Card then became President of the Alberta Stake.

²⁵J. E. W. Bates, Founding of Cardston and Vicinity - Pioneer Problems, Published by Author, Cardston, 1960. p. 113.

the L.D.S. it would undoubtedly have been applied without modification by such orthodox Church leaders as Card and Apostle Taylor. That it was not, serves as a strong argument against the claim that "... all of the far western settlements established by the L.D.S. were based on the Plat of Zion."²⁶

In view of the evidence presented it may be concluded that the Latter-day Saints responsible for the planning of the Albertan settlements based them upon L.D.S. settlements in the United States. Certainly little hesitation was shown in experimenting with modifications of the basic grid as they adapted to local conditions in a pragmatic fashion.

Any attempt to categorize L.D.S. settlements is complicated by the wide diversity in their morphology. No single settlement form was adopted, six settlements being laid out with no planned grid. Of these Welling developed into a line village, a settlement type not usually associated with Latter-day Saints.

The Retention of the Farm Village Form of Settlement in Alberta

Attempts to explain the remarkable adherence of the Latter-day Saints to the farm village have generally failed to consider the case of the Albertan L.D.S. settlements. As many of the factors most frequently cited as being responsible for the retention of the farm village in the United States

²⁶Nelson, The Mormon Village op. cit., p. 27.

Intermontane West are not present in Alberta, it is possible to evaluate theories formulated with the Utah case being the primary consideration.

The degree of departure from the Plat of Zion suggests that it was never a factor of real importance in accounting for the retention of the farm village. Its influence has been shown to be minimal in the Albertan case, although it undoubtedly played a part in influencing the design of early Latter-day Saint settlements in Utah. Sopher's view that "...the Mormon use of a grid plan in their planned communal settlements, ...follows the plan for the City of Zion revealed in the Mormon sacred tradition,"²⁷ remains true only if interpreted as a very loose connection between the Plat of Zion and Latter-day Saint settlements of the West.

Considerations of Defense

It has been suggested that the farm village was basically a defensive arrangement designed to afford a measure of protection to settlers in case of attack by hostile Indians.²⁸ The construction of defensive walls around certain Utah villages has been cited as evidence in support of this hypothesis.²⁹

²⁷D. E. Sopher, Geography of Religion, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs N.J., 1967, p. 32.

²⁸J. M. Gillette, Rural Sociology, Macmillan Company, New York 1936, pp. 112-113. Also, H. Lautensach, Das Mormonenland als Beispiel eines sozialgeographischen Raumes, Universitat Bonn, Bonn 1953, p. 32.

²⁹Baum, op. cit., p. 116.

In Alberta, the relations between the Latter-day Saints and local Blackfoot Indians were cordial from the start, yet the farm village style of settlement was adopted by the great majority of Latter-day Saints. Moreover, at the time the nucleated farm village of Glenwood was established, in 1910, there was no danger of Indian attack. Clearly, in Alberta, the farm village form was not adopted for reasons of protection. If defense was the primary reason for the use of the nucleated settlement form the farm village was by its very nature too open to attack. That the farm village was not as defensible as a tiny clustered settlement is evidenced by Brigham Young's advice to colonists entering Bear Lake Valley:

When you form your settlements get together pretty close, let there be at least ten families on ten acres of land. When you start to build upon a block ... have the brethren build upon that block until every lot is occupied before you touch another, that if you are attacked by Indians, one scream will arouse the whole block.³⁰

Despite the obvious deficiencies of the farm village from the defensive point of view it was universally adopted by the Latter-day Saints both in hostile and peaceful areas. Therefore it is unsatisfactory to cite defense as a leading factor in the retention of the farm village by the L.D.S.

Environmental Factors

The suggestion that the farm village survived

³⁰Record of President Young's Bear Lake Tour May 16-May 26 1864, Ms. quoted in J. E. Ricks, Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region 1847-1877, Utah State University Press, Logan, 1964. p. 98.

primarily as a result of the favourable environment of the Great Basin and as a response to an economy based upon irrigation is interesting in the light of the experience of the Albertan L.D.S. settlements.

The Latter-day Saints in Alberta did not undertake anything but minor irrigation projects for many years. Many Latter-day Saint settlements did not even begin irrigation until a decade after settlement, others not at all. In many areas of Alberta irrigation was not practicable owing to the deep incision of the prairie rivers. In the foothills region there was little need for irrigation as the mean annual precipitation was in excess of twenty inches.³¹ Had the farm village been a response to the needs of a community engaged in irrigation the L.D.S. would not have employed it in environments where this function was redundant. A settlement type more suited to local conditions would have been adopted by the pragmatic Latter-day Saints. That this did not occur suggests the farm village had greater value to the L.D.S. than being merely a familiar institution transposed from the Utah environment.

Church Support of the Farm Village

The question remains as to why the L.D.S. clung so tenaciously to the nucleated farm village settlement. It has been shown, by reference to Albertan settlements, that the farm village was not a response to a religious need. The

³¹Pers. comm., T. Smith, Cardston.

Latter-day Saints did not place the Plat of Zion on a level with the other L.D.S. scriptures. Modification of settlement design by Church leaders Apostle Taylor and C.O. Card supports this contention. However, both these leaders actively encouraged L.D.S. pioneers to settle in farm village communities as a means of maintaining community and religious solidarity.

In early years of colonization many L.D.S. resided outside farm village communities. As the majority of Latter-day Saint settlements in Alberta were not Church colonization projects, L.D.S. settlers entering Alberta secured land by homesteading, a process which placed obligations upon the pioneer taking up land, and one which encouraged the development of isolated farmsteads rather than nucleated village settlement.³² As a result many Latter-day Saints located initially on isolated farmsteads upon their quarter sections, thereby creating a dispersed settlement pattern, as was usually found throughout the Canadian Prairies. President C. O. Card of the Alberta Stake wrote in 1894 that "... about one third of our people live out upon their ranches and are scattered for several miles around (Cardston)."³³

³²In order to receive a homestead patent the settler had to "prove up" on his homestead, a process to be completed within three years. During this time he had to reside within a radius of three miles of the homestead, break a certain amount of land, and for the last three months prior to application, live on the homestead in a home constructed there by him.

³³Bates, op cit., p. 123.



Fig. 3. Vertical Air Photograph of Aetna, Alberta.
Scale 1: 13,776.

The Church expended considerable energy in efforts to consolidate Latter-day Saints into farm village communities. It is suggested that they were motivated by a fear of a weakening of group solidarity should the Latter-day Saints remain dispersed.

Apostle Taylor organized the Aetna Ward in 1893 and immediately selected and surveyed a townsite, laid out in the form of a farm village, for settlements³⁴ (Fig. 3). The almost simultaneous act of establishing a Ward organization and dedicating a townsite illustrates the desire of the Church to establish its members in nucleated farm village communities.

The settlement of Orton had similar beginnings, being initially a Ward organized amongst dispersed Latter-day Saint pioneers. Later a townsite was surveyed and the settlers relocated, forming a farm village. The majority of Ward members saw little benefit in their relocation in the village,³⁵ yet the move was carried out, indicating that pressure was exerted by the Church.

To the Latter-day Saint leadership Church and community were synonymous. The survival of community solidarity was necessary for the survival of the L.D.S. religion, as the Church leadership was well aware. The

³⁴ Ibid, p. 113.

³⁵ C. A. Dawson, Group settlement - Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Vol. 7., in Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg. Macmillan Co., Toronto, 1936, pp. 214-215.

reaction of the Church President, John Taylor, in 1882, to a suggestion that Latter-day Saints of the Cache Valley of Utah should move from the village and relocate on their out-lying land holdings, revealed his concern with maintaining the farm village. Concern over the danger of community disintegration was apparent from his instructions to the President of the Cache Valley Stake.

In all cases in making new settlements the Saints should be advised to gather together in villages, as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlement in these mountain valleys. The advantage of this plan, instead of carelessly scattering out over a wide extent of country, are many and obvious to all those who have a desire to serve the Lord.

By this means the people can obtain their ecclesiastical organizations, have regular meetings of the quorums of the priesthood, and establish and maintain day and Sunday schools, Improvement Associations, and Relief Societies. They can also cooperate for the good of all in financial and secular matters, in making ditches, fencing fields, building bridges, and all necessary improvements.

Further than this they are a mutual protection and source of strength against horse and cattle thieves, land jumpers, etc., and against hostile Indians, should there be any; while their compact organization gives them many advantages of a social and civic character which might be lost, misapplied or frittered away by spreading out so thinly that inter-communication is difficult, dangerous, inconvenient and expensive.³⁶

Card, the founder of many settlements in Alberta, was well aware of this attitude towards the farm village held by the Church leadership, as he was a member of the Cache Valley

³⁶Quoted in, N. Anderson, Desert Saints, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932, pp. 427-428.

Stake Presidency at the time of this communication.³⁷

Nucleation a Response to Church Activism

The farm village was the only unit of settlement which enabled the Latter-day Saints to maintain the activistic social and religious programmes associated with their Church. Having a universal ministry, every male over twelve years being eligible for the priesthood, the L.D.S. Church is only as strong as the degree of active participation of its members. It therefore always demands a high degree of personal involvement and commitment. Accordingly the Church has always, whenever possible, organized a wide range of activities, some religious, others social, the aim of which was to secure active Church participation by all members.

Whilst it was possible to organize and maintain an active Church programme amongst scattered L.D.S. settlers, the inconvenience and effort involved to Church members in travelling to a central point for Church activities would effectively limit the degree of participation. The Latter-day Saint social programme involves engagement in Church or auxiliary programmes,³⁸ perhaps on several occasions a week.

³⁷A. J. Hudson, Charles Ora Card, Pioneer and Colonizer, Published by author, Cardston, 1963, p. 49. The First Presidency of a Stake consists of the Stake President and Two Counsellors. Card was Counsellor to the Stake President of the Cache Valley Stake of Zion from 1882 until he assumed the office of Stake President in 1884.

³⁸Several auxiliary organizations are operated by most L.D.S. Wards; The Sunday School Organization; The Relief Society, a Church women's organization; The Young Women's and Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations, to furnish cultural and recreational activities for Church members over twelve years of age; and the Primary Association, to give weekday religious instruction to those under twelve years.

While the Church could survive in a dispersed settlement situation there can be little doubt that over a prolonged period group solidarity and activism would have suffered. Ultimately apathy would arise, leading to a general decline of the Church.

To guard against such an eventuality the Latter-day Saint leadership consistently advocated the employment of the farm village as a unit of settlement for any settlement venture, whether in Canada, Mexico or the United States. In Alberta, Wards or Branches together with their auxiliary organizations were generally organized as soon as possible after the establishment of settlement. The close connection between Church and community was established from the first.

The rapidity with which Church programmes were established in the embryo settlements was impressive. Cardston, where the first pioneers arrived in June 1887, had Church auxiliaries functioning by November of that year. By then "... the auxiliary organizations of the Church ... engaged the activities of the community, from children to adults."³⁹ The involvement of all sections and ages of society was a practical means of ensuring that interest in the Church was not allowed to wane.

The pervasion of Church organizations throughout L.D.S. pioneer society is well illustrated in the example of Aetna, a small village established in 1893. Here the establishment of a ward organization, Sunday school, Relief

³⁹Bates, op cit., p. 41.

Society, Y.M.M.I.A., Y.W.M.I.A. and Primary Association meant that:

. . . every man and boy from twelve years on up, who resided within the limits of the new Ward, had his duties to perform in the Ward and within the organization of the priesthood.⁴⁰

A similar degree of involvement was to be found repeated throughout all Latter-day Saint settlements.

It was to secure such an intensity of religious and quasi-religious activity that the Church encouraged the adoption of the nucleated farm village wherever possible. When the Latter-day Saints became dispersed in isolated homesteads, usually through the influence of homesteading regulations, the local Church leadership made efforts to survey a townsite, organize a Ward and encourage the L.D.S. to gather together in a farm village. This occurred in the case of Aetna, Orton and Mountain View. Whenever possible Church leaders attempted to survey townsites before the beginning of settlement in the area, as with Glenwood, Hillspring and the towns in the irrigated areas east of Cardston.

Buchanan's explanation of the L.D.S. farm village in Alberta, that "each settler wanted a few acres around his home for a pasture and an oat field for his cow, and as a result the towns became collections of widely scattered little farm plots...", fails to comprehend the underlying motivation

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 114.

behind its employment.⁴¹ Its adoption by the Latter-day Saints was certainly not a haphazard process as Buchanan implies but was essentially an accommodation to the pressures and demands of a dynamic religious organization--the Mormon Church.

Present Day Problems of the Farm Village

The farm village was well suited to the needs of the Latter-day Saints at the time of settlement. Today it has become something of an anachronism. Changes in economic conditions, farm consolidation, rural depopulation, and the introduction of modern transportation have all combined to render the farm village redundant. Consequently many Mormon villages show signs of stagnation and decline. The farm village layout has generated problems. The large blocks, although well suited to village farming needs, are poorly adapted to modern urban conditions. Similarly, the wide streets constitute an unwanted drain on resources.

The town of Cardston, initially surveyed with eight acre blocks, subdivided into half acre lots, faces high costs in providing services to all blocks. The subdivision of many lots has compounded the problem. A recent urban renewal study made for the town stressed the advantages of replotting the majority of blocks located in the centre of the settlement.⁴²

⁴¹D. U. Buchanan, "The Mormons in Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, April 1931, p. 259.

⁴²Markle, Holloway and Associates Ltd., Town of Cardston-Urban Renewal Study, Edmonton, 1967, p. 21.

This recommendation has been adopted and replotting of blocks will be implemented as land becomes available. Although replotting is invariably a slow process Cardston will probably possess a modified street pattern by the end of the decade.⁴³

Replotting does not entail any modification of the basic grid pattern of streets, but embraces the concept of improving block accessibility by driving a service road into the block centre. These blocks' subsequent street frontage would then permit an increased intensity of land use within the block. Low density and dispersion of housing within each block, a legacy of the farm village philosophy, has put a considerable burden upon town finances as the cost of provision of utilities and services is unnecessarily high. Replotting could help to alleviate this.

Taber, the only other L.D.S. settlement to experience any appreciable urban development, has already undertaken replotting of a number of blocks in the same manner as is intended in Cardston.

The wide streets of Latter-day Saint settlements are a source of pride to many residents, many of whom believe them to be the result of divine inspiration. They are, however, often a burden upon settlement finance, being far too wide for present or foreseeable needs. Settlements such as Cardston, Taber and Raymond, all with streets of 99 feet or wider, are in a position of being forced to devote capital

⁴³Pers. comm., D. Leavitt, Cardston.

resources to the maintenance of a hard topped road surface, which is only partially utilized by traffic. However, such wide streets preclude the appearance of parking problems. Raymond, with 132 foot wide major streets permits angled parking on both sides of the street and along the street median leaving four lanes open to traffic (Fig. 4).

The exceptional street width found in the majority of L.D.S. settlements has seldom been fully utilized. Few villages can afford, or require, hard surfacing over the entire street. Therefore in the majority of cases only the central portion of the road allowance is graded, the remaining area forming wide grass covered shoulders often up to 30 feet in width. Because of this the wide streets do not form such an obvious feature of the village landscape as might be expected (Fig. 2 and 5).

A similar situation occurring in some L.D.S. villages in Utah has led to the encroachment of dwellings on to the redundant areas of the roadway, so effectively reducing the characteristically wide streets of some farm villages.⁴⁴ That this has not yet occurred in Alberta may be attributed to the comparatively short period of adjustment experienced by the Albertan L.D.S. villages.

Farm villages in Alberta have experienced radical changes in both function and appearance since their establishment. While some villages have declined others have exhibited

⁴⁴Pers. comm., Dr. E. Miller, University of Lethbridge.



Fig. 4. Raymond, Broadway Street.



Fig. 5. Raymond, Church Avenue.

an ability to adapt to new conditions. Cardston and Taber display little of their farm village origin, having developed into local service centres. Their evolution has, however, served to draw attention to some of the weaknesses of the farm village form in the contemporary urban environment. It appears inevitable that modifications of the basic L.D.S. settlement plan will be effected as urbanization continues.

For the majority of farm villages in Alberta the future can hold little but stagnation and decline, although a limited number located in close proximity to Lethbridge may possibly be able to exploit their position and develop as dormitory settlements for the city.

Conclusion

The farm village has been shown to be a settlement type adapted to suit the religious needs of a dynamic Church. Whatever the origin of this distinctive settlement plan, its retention by the Latter-day Saints has been shown to be a pragmatic response to an unusual problem faced by a frontier theocracy in its colonization endeavours. The farm village should not be considered as the response to the needs of irrigationists, an answer to problems of defense, a response to the Great Basin environment or implementation of the Plat of Zion as a religious duty.

It has been shown that Latter-day Saints did not always locate in farm villages and that the farm village in Alberta follows no specific plan. L.D.S. settlements which were surveyed possessed unusually wide streets, oriented

north-south, east-west laid out in a grid pattern and blocks of over five acres in area. In cases where the village grew in a haphazard manner, without the benefit of a survey, the village morphology was radically different from that of the Church directed settlement.

The wide variation found amongst Albertan Latter-day Saint settlements makes it impossible to cite any one feature as being common to all. Rather, a combination of characteristics makes the majority of L.D.S. settlements recognizable as such.

The farm village was a social unit designed to meet the exigencies of nineteenth century frontier conditions. It is inevitable, therefore, that adjustment and modification have occurred and will continue to do so if the farm village is to survive under current conditions of the rural environment.⁴⁵

⁴⁵J. A. Geddes, Modification of the Early Utah Farm Village", Year Book of Pacific Coast Geographers, Vol. 8., 1942, p. 22.

CHAPTER V

PATTERNS OF LAND OWNERSHIP

The historical geographer faces a difficult task when attempting to determine the initial sequence and pattern of land occupance by Latter-day Saint colonists in Alberta. Difficulties occasioned by the incomplete nature of the homestead entry and land patent records prior to 1900 are compounded by the problems of differentiating the L.D.S. from other settlers. Neither homestead entry nor land patent record the religion of the settler and as the Latter-day Saints possess no common ethnic background such information as nationality, last point of residence, or family name of settler is of little assistance.

As an approach to the solution of this problem, contemporary patterns of land ownership may be mapped, the present distribution of L.D.S. lands possibly being indicative of the initial pattern. The attempt to interpret past geographies from present distributions is open to error. Despite this, it is felt that while methodologically open to question, this procedure may provide useful information for the historical geographer, to some extent compensating for the absence of more reliable data.

Patterns of Land Ownership by L.D.S. Church Members

In order to ascertain the distribution of L.D.S. lands

and to determine the degree of impact made by the Latter-day Saint farm village upon contemporary patterns of land ownership all lands with a title held by a member of the L.D.S. Church were mapped in two administrative areas. The districts selected for study were the Municipal District of Cardston, Number 6, and the County of Warner, Number 5. All land holdings of Latter-day Saints within these two areas were mapped in the field and plotted in Maps V and VI. Although total coverage of all L.D.S. settlements was not possible owing to the areal extent of the study area, fifteen of the nineteen settlements defined as being L.D.S. for the purposes of this study are included in this sample. It is felt, therefore, that this sample coverage of 76 percent is sufficiently large for valid conclusions to be drawn from the data and for certain generalizations to be made.

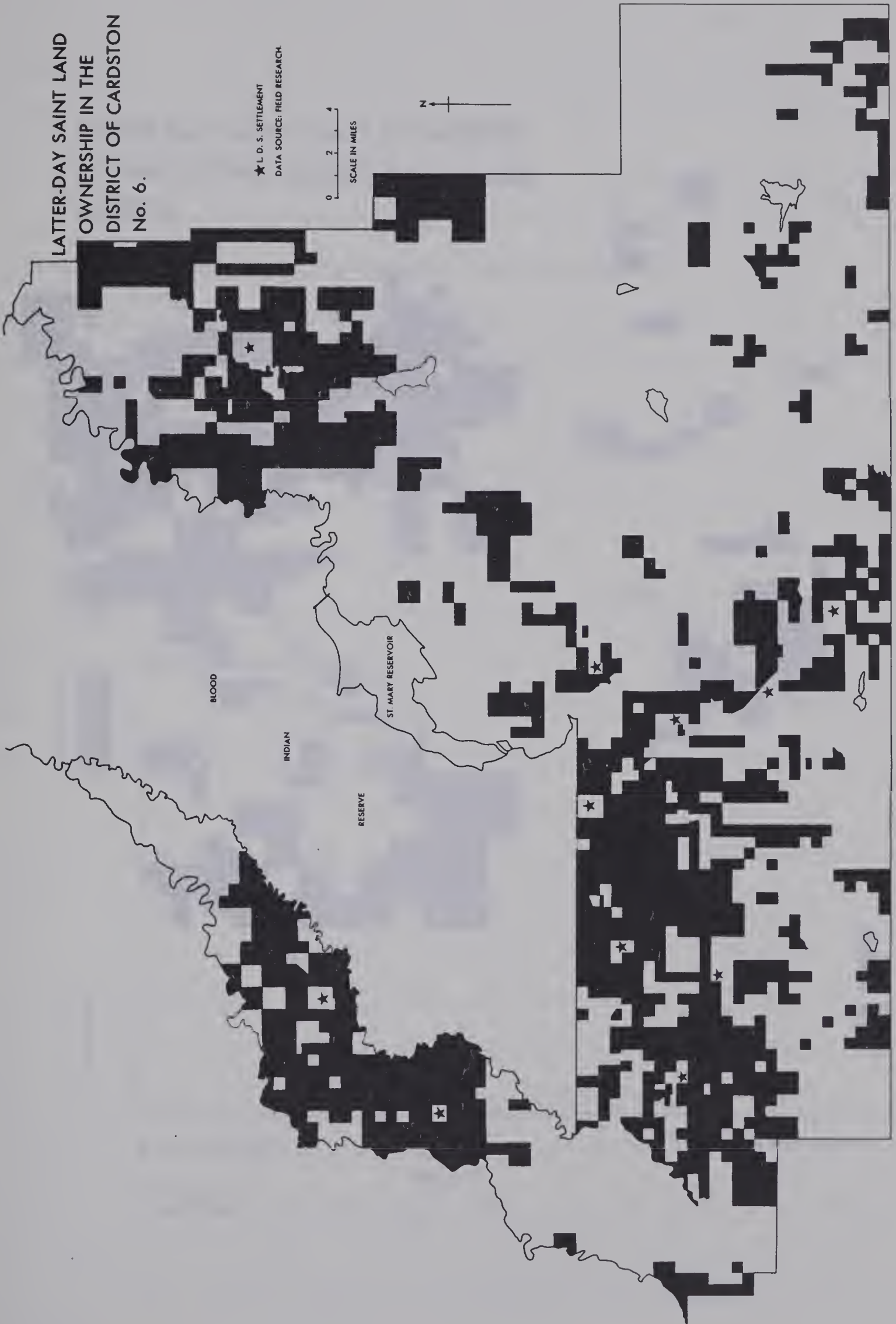
The pattern of Latter-day Saint land ownership (Maps V and VI) shows a marked tendency towards nucleation around the L.D.S. farm village. Although this may be expected it is noteworthy that relatively few sections of land owned by the L.D.S. are located at a distance of more than five miles from the centre of an L.D.S. settlement. The Latter-day Saints' land ownership pattern can be seen to take the form of a series of nodal centres (farm villages) with land holdings radiating from the central point of settlement. This characteristic has meant that L.D.S. land holdings are seldom contiguous, thereby creating a modification of the block settlement commonly associated with the

LATTER-DAY SAINT LAND
OWNERSHIP IN THE
DISTRICT OF CARDSTON
No. 6.

★ L. D. S. SETTLEMENT

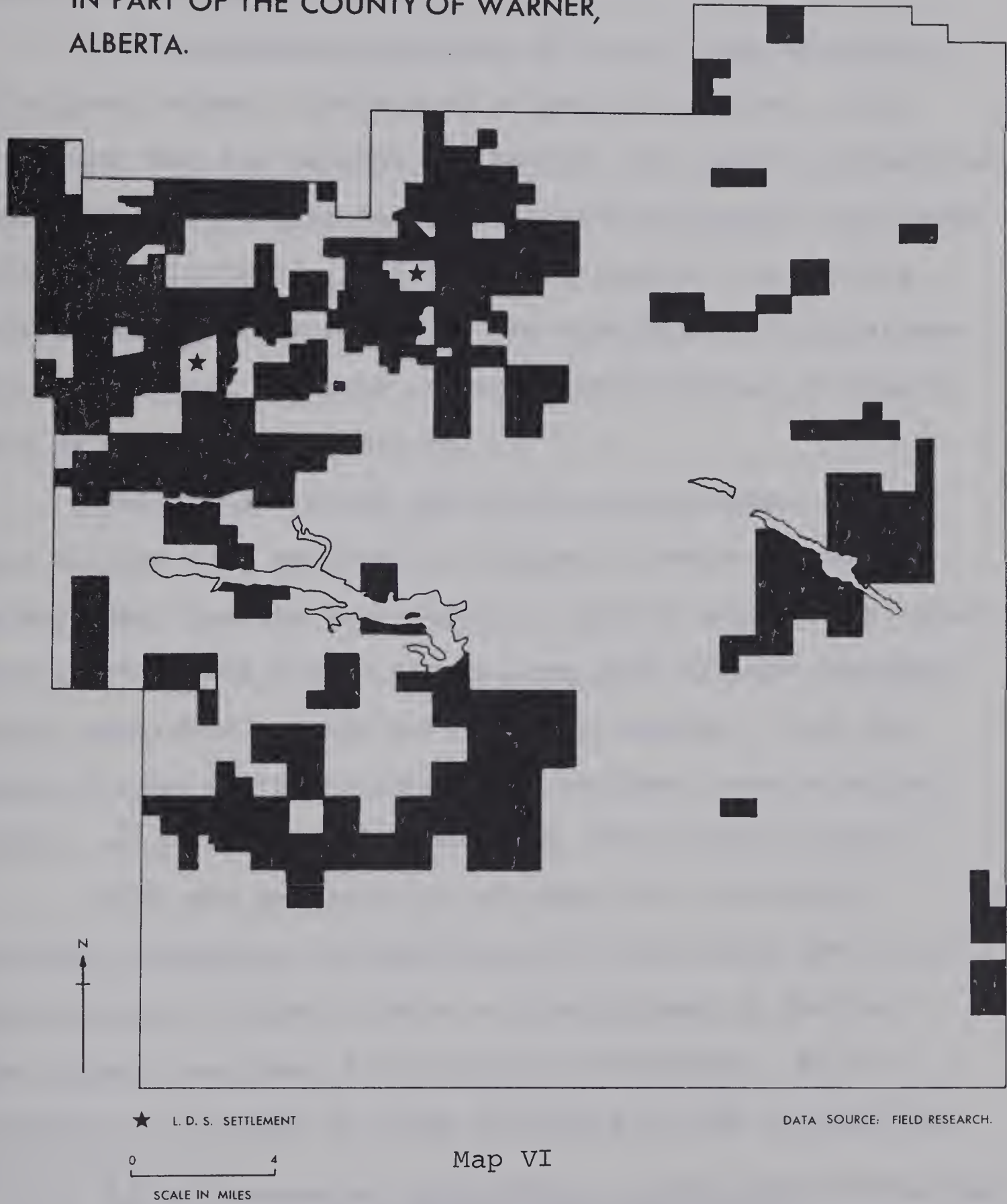
DATA SOURCE: FIELD RESEARCH

0 2 4
SCALE IN MILES



Map V

LATTER-DAY SAINT LAND OWNERSHIP
IN PART OF THE COUNTY OF WARNER,
ALBERTA.



colonization of areas by specific ethnic groups, such as the Ukrainians in central Alberta.¹ The Latter-day Saints' variant of the block settlement forms a distinctive modification of the usual concept.

The contemporary pattern of L.D.S. land holdings is to a great extent a reflection of past attitudes. It is suggested that the present day pattern can only be effectively explained by reference to the religious and social attitudes held by the Latter-day Saints at the time of the initial settlement (see Chapter II). The survival of this pattern may be explained in terms of contemporary social attitudes held by the Latter-day Saints.

Motivations lying behind the establishment of the farm village were examined in Chapter IV where it was established that the high degree of Church orientation towards social activities within the village made village residence highly desirable for the active Church member. From the point of view of the villager land was best located either within, or at a short distance from, the village centre.

With the availability of cheap and relatively reliable automobile transportation in the 1930's the L.D.S. farm village in Alberta began a slow process of decline.² The village lost one of its original functions. As the necessity of farming in close proximity to the village was

¹J. G. MacGregor, Vilni-Zemli - Free Lands, McClelland and Co., Toronto, 1969, 274 pp.

²Pers. comm., Prof. L. Rosenvall, The University of Calgary.

diminished, it became possible for the L.D.S. farmer to reside on his land holding outside the village, yet still be sufficiently close to the centre of Church and social activities so important to the Latter-day Saint. However, it is significant that with the advent of improved communications the L.D.S. did not move out from the village and extend the territorial limits of their farming operations. That this has not yet occurred to any appreciable extent may be attributable to a number of factors. Inertia played a considerable part in maintaining the original pattern of land ownership. Initially there was a considerable degree of reluctance on behalf of the L.D.S. to abandon capital investment within the village. The usual practice of the Latter-day Saint farmer in the farm village was to locate his dwelling and farm buildings; usually the major barn and a number of miscellaneous out-houses and sheds, upon his village lot. This resulted in the village containing a certain amount of fixed capital investment. The financial aspect alone formed a strong incentive for the L.D.S. farmer to remain within the village structure.

Moreover, at the time of the initial breakdown of the farm village acquisition of further lands may have been physically or economically impossible. Nevertheless it is surprising that there has not been evidence of a greater outward movement in the forty years since the breakdown of the farm village began. This can be partially explained by the fact that the involvement in village and Church activities

was, and still is, sufficiently intensive to render residence outside the village a sacrifice. Even with modern mobility, the inconvenience and cost of frequent travel to and from the village for a distance of more than a few miles would make active participation, although economically feasible, extremely burdensome, and from the point of view of the Latter-day Saint, socially undesirable.

It is even more remarkable that an active proselytizing group such as the L.D.S. has not had a greater degree of success with the gentile settlers holding land on the fringes of their settlements. That they have not done so is apparent from the survival of the nucleated pattern of land ownership. This would tend to corroborate the point made in Chapter IV that the strength of the L.D.S. Church lies in its social and religious activism. Conversely it is suggested that those Church members residing on the fringes of L.D.S. areas would be less likely to be constantly involved in Church oriented community activities, and would therefore be most likely to lapse into apathy, perhaps apostasy. This would have the effect of sustaining the distinctive nucleated pattern of Latter-day Saint land holdings. To a certain extent it would appear from the existing land ownership patterns of Latter-day Saints that active participation in Church affairs is a component of distance from a religious centre, that is, the farm village.

Colonization on Church Land

The concentration of L.D.S. owned land between the Belly and Waterton Rivers can be explained by reference to the historical geography of the region and the involvement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in colonization activities. It is therefore proposed to examine this involvement by the Church in the historical and settlement geography of southern Alberta.

The first Latter-day Saint settlers to arrive in Alberta in 1887 came under the encouragement of the Church authorities in Salt Lake City, Utah. However, the Church was unable to provide land for their colonists. Land for the establishment of the first settlement at Lees Creek, later Cardston, was acquired by homesteading. The L.D.S. were bound by the same homesteading regulations which applied to all settlers in Alberta. As a result, the initial settlers were not able to make any purchases of blocks of land from the Federal Government, despite several representations to Ottawa. They were therefore unable to make land available to the succeeding L.D.S. settlers entering Canada. This did not adversely affect the Latter-day Saints although it meant that they were unable to reserve land specifically for incoming L.D.S. settlers as they would have wished.

Despite this the Church authorities in Utah did in one instance play an important and direct part in making land available to their own settlers. In the decade following the establishment of Cardston a great proportion of the better

land in the foothill region was occupied by settlers. To the east of Cardston the land became progressively more arid, mean precipitation decreasing and average summer temperatures rising. Movement into an arid area without the benefits of irrigation caused the cost of settlement to increase and the chances of failure to grow proportionally higher. By the year 1905 the majority of lands irrigated by the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company were settled by L.D.S. colonists encouraged to migrate to Alberta by intensive Church propaganda.

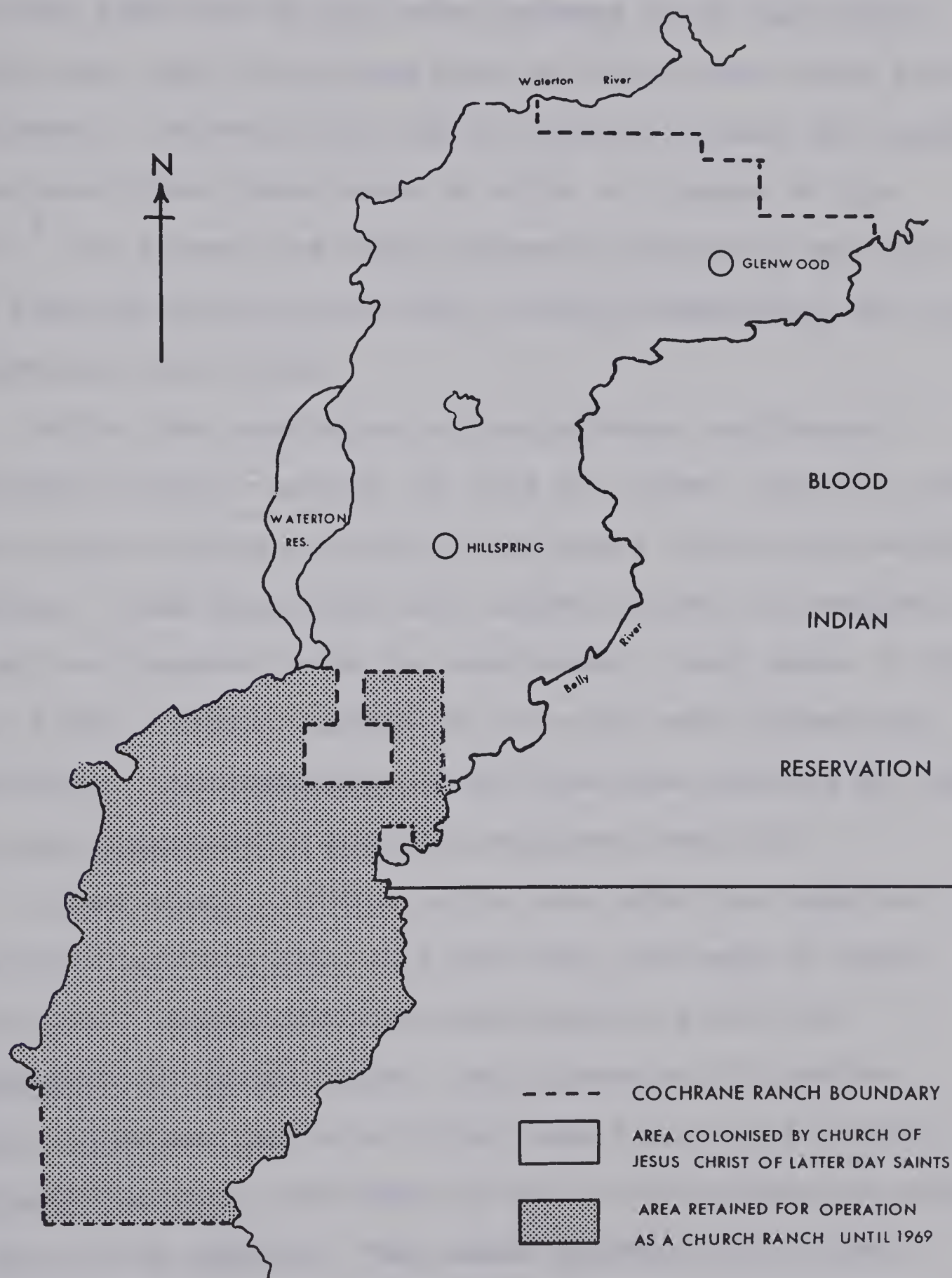
Pressure on land grew sufficiently at this time to cause the then President of the Alberta Stake, Edward J. Wood, to suggest to the authorities of the Church the idea of purchasing the Cochrane Ranch (MapVII) and reselling it to L.D.S. families who wished to settle in Canada.³ The death of Senator Cochrane, President of the Cochrane Ranch Company in 1906, together with the crowding of the ranches by incoming settlers, caused the Cochrane interests to decide to sell.⁴ The purchase of the Cochrane Ranch by the Church was effected in 1906, the title being retained by the President and High Council of the Alberta Stake of Zion Inc.⁵

³D. B. Law, History of the Glenwood District, Typed Ms. Glenwood Village Council, Glenwood, Alberta, 1969 p. 1.

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵E. Anderson, The Landscape of Southern Alberta, Vol. 2 Unpublished M.A. thesis. Dept. of Geography, University of British Columbia, 1959 p. 323.

THE COCHRANE RANCH



SOURCE: FIELDWORK

Under the agreement of sale 66,500 acres of land owned by the Cochrane Ranch Company were sold to the L.D.S. Church for \$399,000 (\$6 per acre) payment being made with \$99,000 cash, and the balance paid at \$60,000 per annum with no interest. In return for the no interest clause the ranch company was given three years in which to dispose of its cattle.⁶ As a result of this agreement pioneering upon this newly acquired land was not able to begin immediately and did not commence until 1908.

After the conclusion of the purchase the Church dispatched a team to survey the land for farms, determine the prospects for irrigation and lay out plans for two projected townsites.⁷ The Church did not, however, open the complete area of the Cochrane Ranch for settlement. Only about 35,000 acres of the northern portion of the ranch were opened for colonization. The remainder of the land was retained by the Church and operated for ranching purposes (Map VII).

Surprisingly the Church did not offer the land to Latter-day Saint settlers at a low rate, but sold at about \$13 an acre.⁸ This price gave the Church a profit of approximately \$7.00 per acre. The allocation of land to incoming colonists was on a 'first come first served basis', the Church reserving the right to control the amount of land sold to any one settler. The normal purchase was of one

⁶Carter, op. cit., p. 76.

⁷Law, op. cit., p. 1.

⁸Pers. comm., G. Thomas, Glenwoodville.

half section, although if the settler possessed horses and machinery and displayed the ability to farm the extra land the Church would permit a larger purchase to be made.⁹ The Church also surveyed two townsites, Hillspring and Glenwoodville, both of which were laid out in the Latter-day Saint farm village style.

Although the colonists who settled the Cochrane Ranch, later known as the Cochrane Municipality, were all Church members, some non-L.D.S. farmers living on the boundaries of the area also purchased small amounts of land from the Church.¹⁰

No reason for the Church's failure to make the entire Cochrane Ranch available for settlement has yet been advanced. The section opened to settlement was composed of level terrain more suited to the development of irrigation and the establishment of mixed farming than the remainder. The latter was, and still is, prime ranching country and would probably have been viewed as being unirrigable and unsuited to settlement based upon a mixed farming economy.

Involvement with the Cochrane Ranch constitutes the sole example of direct Church action to provide land for its members. Settlement of Latter-day Saint colonists in the irrigated lands of the Raymond, Magrath and Stirling region discussed in Chapter III, was completely different in that the Church played only a subsidiary role encouraging and in

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

some cases directing L.D.S. settlers to the area.¹¹ In no case did the degree of Church involvement approach that undertaken in the Cochrane Ranch venture.

Ownership of Land by the L.D.S. Church

Considerable areas of southern Alberta may be classified as being controlled by Latter-day Saints. The majority of such land is privately owned, title being held by adherents of the Church. However, the Church headquarters in Salt Lake City owns large areas, and local L.D.S. wards also hold a considerable amount of land. Except for the instance of the Cochrane Ranch such land has not been opened for settlement by the Latter-day Saints. The reasons are primarily historical, although geographical factors have played a part. A consideration of the two categories of Church lands; ranches and ward welfare farms, will illustrate this. Both constitute a unique element in the geography of southern Alberta.

Church Ranches in Alberta

The purchase of the Cochrane Ranch in 1906 marked the entry of the L.D.S. Church into large scale commercial activities in Alberta.¹² From the date of purchase the ranch was operated as a Church controlled venture. The motivation behind this is by no means clear, Turner¹³ advances the

¹¹Pers comm., E. F. Oler, Stirling.

¹²Carter, op. cit., p. 76, states that the Church operated a cattle ranch in the Caldwell area prior to the Cochrane purchase.

¹³W. Turner, The Mormon Establishment, Haughton Mifflin Co. Boston 1966, p. 119.

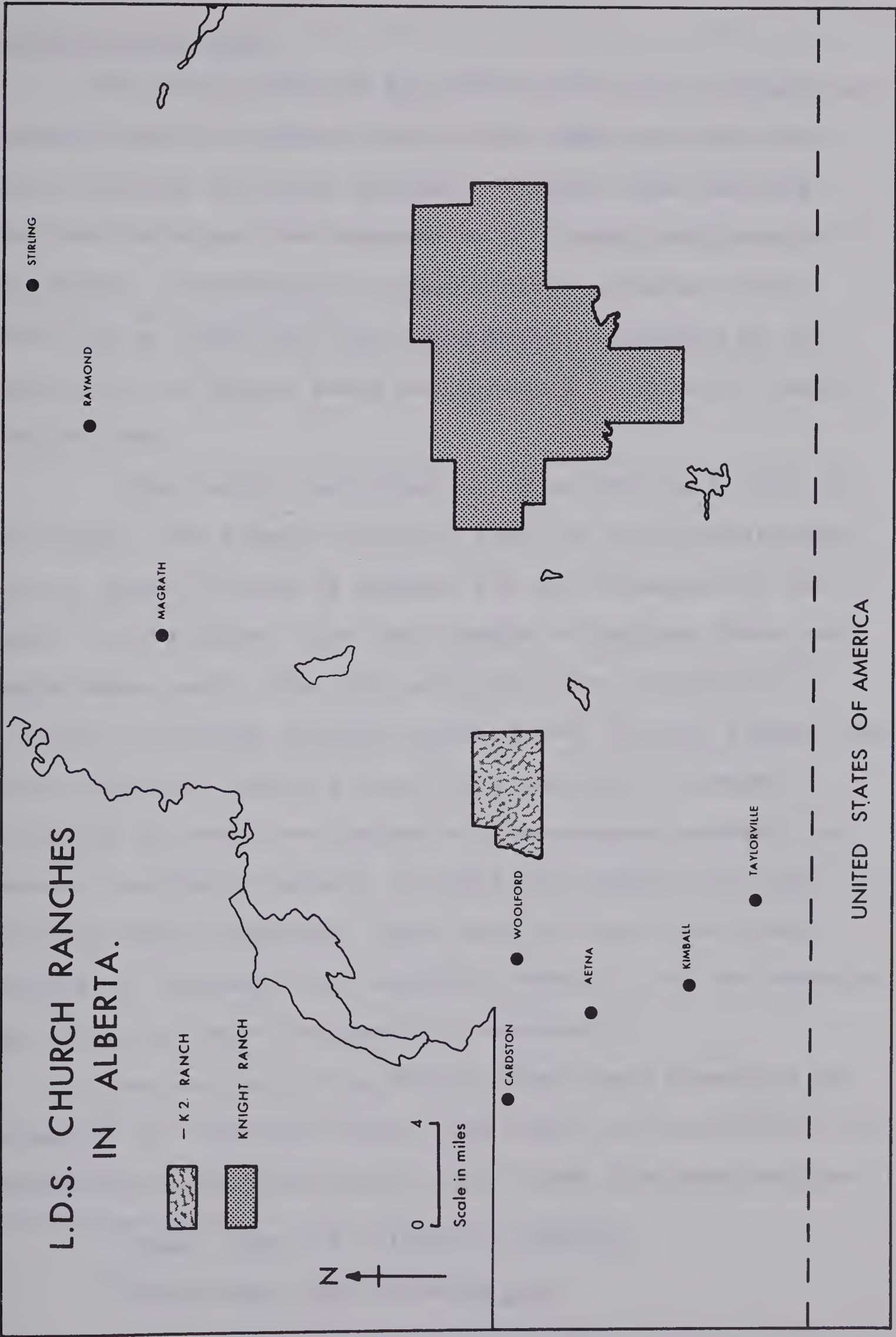
hypothesis that the decision to enter ranching was a direct response to restrictions on the flow of capital from Canada to the United States. Tithing, a usual practice amongst the L.D.S., yielded a considerable annual income to the Church, which could not be removed from Canada. Therefore, the Church invested tithe income in ranching. It is doubtful that this explanation is valid for either the initial or subsequent ventures into ranching. A more probable reason is that at the time of purchase ranching constituted a profitable investment for the Church.

In 1947 the Church added to its ranch holdings by purchasing 12,000 acres of ranch land (Map VIII) from the MacIntyre Ranching Company - the Bar K2 Ranch.¹⁴ The following year the Knight Ranch was purchased, an area of 80,000 acres.¹⁵ The motive in both cases was purely economic. That the MacIntyre interests were "desperate to sell," coupled with cheap land prices, were the determining factors in the decision to purchase.¹⁶ The time of purchase and the location of the ranches (Map VIII) make it apparent that at no time did the Church anticipate the use of land for any other purpose than ranching. Provision of land for Church members was never a consideration. The reluctance of the Church to become involved in the provision of land to its adherents is illustrated by the disposal of the Cochrane Ranch in 1969.

¹⁴The Bar-Kay-Two Ranch takes its name from the ranch brand:-K2

¹⁵Pers comm., B. Stringham, Lethbridge.

¹⁶Ibid.



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Map VIII

Cochrane Ranch Sale

The early years of the 1960's saw L.D.S. farmers and ranchers west of Cardston feeling the need for additional land to devote to cattle grazing. At that time the only land available was the Cochrane Ranch, owned and operated by the Church. Accordingly, representation was made to the Church on an individual and group basis, inquiring of the possibility of Church lands being made available for use as grazing land.

The Church then agreed to lease the ranch land to the Stake, (the Alberta Stake of Zion) on the understanding that it could be used as pasture for the livestock of the people in the Stake, with the thought of helping those who needed more land. This did not prove very successful.¹⁷ In 1969, to prevent disputes arising over grazing rights, the Church sold the Cochrane Ranch to a non-L.D.S. company. Reluctant to reveal any aspect of disagreement amongst its members the Church refuses to state the reasons for sale, although Church spokesmen admit that the sale took place because of "personal, not economic reasons", and not through any desire to leave the ranching business.¹⁸

The caution of the Church effectively prevented any extension of Latter-day Saint farm lands, so maintaining the distinctive pattern of L.D.S. owned lands discussed earlier.

¹⁷Pers. comm., W. Pitcher, Cardston.

¹⁸Pers. comm., Stringham, op cit.

Apart from this negative aspect the presence of Church ranches in Alberta has had little effect upon the L.D.S. farmer or rancher, the ranches being independently operated by a limited corporation with title held by the "Corporation of the Presiding Bishop in Salt Lake City, Utah".¹⁹

Welfare Farms in Alberta

Many Latter-day Saint ward organizations hold title to land which is operated as a ward welfare farm as the L.D.S. Church practices a highly organized programme of relief for Church members. This welfare programme is designed both to aid members of the ward during time of need and to prepare for the millenium.²⁰

It was originally intended that every ward would produce all necessary supplies for the basic needs of the poor from the welfare farm. Aid was envisaged as being non-financial, furnished in the form of produce. It may be supposed that if this were to be so the welfare farm would have a wide variety of crops, so creating significant land use differences from surrounding farms. This was found not to be so in the case of southern Alberta, as the welfare farm is at present afflicted by a number of problems, necessitating a reappraisal of its role in L.D.S. society.

The Origin of the Welfare Farm

The idea of community cooperation is a basic tenet

¹⁹Turner, op cit., p. 119.

²⁰M. R. Rathjen, Evolution and Development of Mormon Welfare Farms, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1969, p. 5.

of the L.D.S. Church, being expounded in the Church's Law of Consecration and Stewardships, and developed through a series of revelations to Joseph Smith in 1831.²¹ The teaching of this Law was first to care for the poor and secondly to prepare for the millenium through participation in a new social system. This belief saw expressions in the establishment in 1874 of the United Order of Enoch, a communistic venture, which ultimately was unsuccessful and abandoned in 1885.²² As a consequence of its early demise the United Order had no impact upon the planning of Canadian L.D.S. settlements.

During forty-seven years following the expiration of the United Order there was no specific organization to minister to the poor. Church welfare costs were met from tithing contributions, fast offerings and priesthood quorum activities.²³ The depression years however, began to put a considerable strain upon this informal arrangement. The Church Presidency was urged to establish some effective relief organization. Despite the inherent conservatism of the leadership this was implemented in 1936. President Heber J. Grant established a system of welfare farms, each to be bought and subsequently operated by L.D.S. wards. President Grant explained the purpose of the welfare farm:

²¹Joseph Smith, The Doctrine and Covenants, Deseret Book Co., Salt Lake City 1967.

²²T. F. O'Dea, The Mormons, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1968, pp. 205-210.

²³Rathjen, op cit., p. 15.

. . . to set up, insofar as it might be possible, a system under which the curse of idleness would be done away with, the evils of the dole abolished and independence, industry, thrift and self-respect be once more established amongst our people. The aim of the Church is to help people help themselves. Work is to be re-enthroned as the ruling principle of the lives of our people.²⁴

In the early years of the welfare programme Church leaders encouraged each ward to have its own welfare project. These generally took the form of small welfare farms. Many wards within the Alberta Stakes purchased areas of land to be developed as welfare farms.

Form and Size of Welfare Farms in Alberta

The form and size of the welfare farm in Alberta has been governed by the strength of the ward organization operating the project. Rural wards in southern Alberta have on average approximately 250 members. As theoretically the welfare farm is operated entirely on a volunteer basis, using the labour and farm equipment of ward members, the size of the farm is effectively restricted to between one quarter and one half section of land. There are, therefore, few large welfare farms in Alberta.

Rathjen, in his study of L.D.S. welfare farms mainly in Utah,²⁵ notes that the present trend is towards a larger farm operated on a commercial basis. This has not yet occurred in Alberta, and at present the welfare farm in

²⁴President Heber J. Grant, Conference Report, October 1936, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 1936. p. 3.

²⁵Rathjen, op cit., pp. 30-31.

Alberta is afflicted with a number of problems.²⁶

Problems

It was originally intended that each ward farm would yield produce in sufficient variety to cover welfare needs. In many cases only cash crops have been grown, a more efficient form of land use, income from such crops being highly flexible in application.

With the current trend of rural depopulation the supply of volunteer labour to work the farm is not always available. The movement of many Latter-day Saints into non-farming occupations has resulted in the burden of welfare farm work being borne by a few dedicated individuals. Many L.D.S. engaged in non-farming employment are unable to take an active part in the welfare project. Consequently wards have curtailed their farming activities, leased their land to local farmers and used the income so derived for welfare purposes.²⁷ Other wards, especially those in such urban areas as the Cardston Number One Ward, engage in bee keeping projects and other activities more open to participation by the non-farm member.²⁸

Difficulties with the effective maintenance of welfare farms have been intensified by consolidation of declining rural wards: For example, the Aetna ward now owns

²⁶Pers. comm., K. Bullock, Welling, Alberta.

²⁷Pers. comm., R. Pitcher, Cardston.

²⁸Pers. comm., Dr. R. Spachmann, Cardston.

three separate quarter sections each at a considerable distance from the other, two of which are at a considerable distance from Aetna. Fragmentation of the farm, combined with a ward membership of only 255 in 1970 precluded efficient operation without considerable effort by ward members.²⁹

At present the welfare farm in southern Alberta is in need of re-appraisal by the Church. It is doubtful whether the Latter-day Saints would readily abandon the idea of the welfare farm, although circumstances may encourage a decrease in the working of the land by ward members. From the point of view of the ward it is easier and ultimately more beneficial to lease out the land.

The philosophy behind the welfare farm concept necessitates their location in close proximity to the operating ward. Their distribution therefore parallels that of rural L.D.S. wards.

The limited areal extent and fragmented nature of the welfare farm prevents it from being a distinctive feature of the cultural landscape. A tendency towards the production of cash crops together with the leasing out of many welfare farms has meant that in Alberta it is indistinguishable from surrounding farm operations.

The concept of the welfare farm remains unique in Canada and displays an amount of cooperation seldom present among other Christian denominations. This goes beyond economic considerations and in the majority of cases can be

²⁹Ibid.

attributed only to religious persuasion.³⁰

³⁰Rathjen, op. cit., p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

DEFINITION OF A LATTER-DAY SAINT CULTURE REGION IN ALBERTA

Of all the phenomena forming or reflecting the areal differences among cultures few are so potent or sensitive as that of religion.¹ However this criterion is probably the most difficult of all to measure, assess or analyse, and therefore any consideration of a religiously based culture region poses unique problems for the geographer. Zelinsky, in reviewing some of the problems encountered when religious factors are considered stated:

Unlike some other demographic or cultural traits religion is a many sided phenomenon; some of its more important aspects are extremely difficult to define or measure, and others, such as personal attitudes on religious matters, are possibly beyond the scope of direct observation. Among the multiple definitions of religion we must include: a mental complex accessible to only the anthropologist, theologian or psychologist; a highly diversified body of customs, some only quite indirectly related to theological concern; a formal institution i.e. church or denomination; and a group of persons sharing some degree of religious identity by virtue of tradition or common observance. This wide range of meanings leads, in turn, to a number of serious methodological problems. Should the geographer confine his interest to formal adherence to the various creeds? Or if he rejects this approach how does he measure and study the intensity of religious belief and observance in all their endless ramifications? Is religion cause or effect in the cultural landscape or somehow both? Should the geographer simply note the material manifestations of religion, as in the settlement landscape, economic

¹W. Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 51, 1961, p. 139.

processes, or political relations, or should he concentrate on the inward spiritual aspects of what is essentially an incorporeal phenomenon?²

Mormon Country

The Latter-day Saints have in many areas of their settlement created a unique cultural landscape, a measure of the impact of a group within which religious and temporal affairs are closely linked. Although the term "Mormon Country" is frequently employed with reference to such areas there has been little attempt to define the meaning of the term either in areal or visual terms. This is especially true of the Mormon Country of Alberta.

Meinig, Zelinsky, Gaustad and Mangus have attempted areally to delimit what Meinig has termed "the Mormon Culture Region."³ The discordances found between the boundaries of this region as drawn by each of the above indicates that "Mormon numerical preponderance is not a reliable guide to the Mormon culture area . . ."⁴ It was to overcome the inadequacy of numerical data that Francaviglia attempted to employ observable criteria as a means of cataloguing and analysing the impact of this culture group upon the landscape, defining the region in visual rather than numerical terms.⁵

²Ibid., p. 141.

³D. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 60, June, 1965, pp. 191-220.

⁴Ibid., p. 194-195.

⁵R. V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 2, 1970, pp. 59-61.

However, all attempts to define or delimit a Mormon culture region have been primarily concerned with the examples within the United States, those areas of the Mormon culture region lying outside the limits of United States territory being generally dismissed as insignificant. Meinig, although not primarily concerned with the L.D.S. enclaves outside the United States territory, did demarcate an area of L.D.S. culture in Alberta, which he termed a "sphere of L.D.S. influence."⁶ How he arrived at this conclusion is not directly stated, although he did observe that

. . . this Mormon sphere encompasses considerable variety in local contexts, everywhere the Mormons have some deep roots in the general locality; are usually in some degree clustered; are recognized by other people as a separate cohesive body who impress a distinctive mark upon the local economy, politics and society; and are highly self-conscious of themselves in the same way.⁷

This description can certainly be applied to the area in Alberta which was initially settled by the Latter-day Saints. However, from the very definition of Meinig's "sphere," it follows that delimitation of this area will be difficult, Meinig failing to establish definite criteria by which the boundary of the sphere may be delimited. The sphere concept is inherently unsuited to rigid boundary definition.

The Mormon Country of Alberta: Problems of Delimitation

The wide scattering of Latter-day Saint settlements across southern Alberta, the grouping of the L.D.S. in farm villages, the inherent difficulties of regional demarcation, all combine to make any delimitation of "Mormon Country," in terms more definite than those of Meinig's sphere, a difficult task. The mapping of L.D.S. land holdings within two Municipal Districts showed that the Latter-day Saints still

⁶Meinig, op. cit., p. 216.

⁷Loc. cit.

preserve many of their nuclear characteristics, (Maps, V & VI) clustering around a number of farm villages. The gentile intrusions separating the clusters of Latter-day Saints, tend to create an intricate boundary line between L.D.S. and gentile dominated areas. As a result it is erroneous to talk of the Mormon Country of southern Alberta as a contiguous area. In this respect the L.D.S. culture region contrasts with certain other ethnic block settlements in Alberta. Alberta's Mormon Country is essentially a series of settlements which are loosely linked by the Latter-day Saint landholdings surrounding each village.

However, it is not possible to measure the limits of a culture region by patterns of land occupance alone. Numbers professing adherence to a specific organization, whether taken on a percentage or numerical basis, do not clearly define the limits of cultural boundaries. A factor generally ignored by such approaches is the impact of the dynamism of the group in question. It is theoretically possible to have a dynamic minority group sufficiently active as to impress their culture upon the majority and perhaps to have this reflected in the cultural landscape. Whilst it is not contended that this has occurred in the case of the Latter-day Saints in southern Alberta they nevertheless constitute a large dynamic and theocratic group with an unusual group solidarity which gives them many of the characteristics of a linguistic minority group.⁸

⁸C. A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Vol. 7, of Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, Macmillan, Toronto, 1936, p. 178.

It is the diffuse pervasion of L.D.S. cultural influences not according with strict territorial limits which confuses the question of delimitation of the Latter-day Saint sphere of influence. In response to this problem, the examination of features of the cultural landscape within the L.D.S. dominated area may provide a more concrete approach, being concerned with visually observable realities rather than with abstract impressions. Such cultural features of the landscape may reflect the extent to which a cultural group has had an impact upon an area.

Before this technique may be applied, the visual characteristics associated with the cultural landscape of the group in question must be tabulated. For Latter-day Saints this is a problem, as whilst many have been impressed by the visual characteristics of what Stegner termed "Mormon Country," few have attempted more than generalization on Mormon cultural or religious landscapes.⁹ However, Francaviglia has established a case for the existence of a "unique Mormon landscape" and has enumerated a number of cultural features which he holds to be typical of the agrarian landscape of the Latter-day Saints.¹⁰ Maintaining that the L.D.S. have "so indelibly put their stamp on the face of the west, that even today it is possible to distinguish a Mormon from a non-Mormon settlement

⁹W. Stegner, Mormon Country, Duell Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1942, pp. 1-362. D. Sopher, Geography of Religions, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1967, p. 45. H. Lautensach, Das Mormonenland als Beispiel eines sozial-geographischen Raumes, Universitat Bonn, Bonn, 1953, pp. 28-30.

¹⁰Francaviglia, op. cit., p. 59.

by looking for ten visual clues," he defined the following on the basis of extensive field-work in the United States:

1. Wide streets; using a dividing line of sixty-five feet, L.D.S. settlements may be distinguished from non-L.D.S. The majority of L.D.S. settlements have streets of over eighty feet in width.
2. Roadside irrigation ditches.
3. Barns and graneries within the settlement centre.
4. Unpainted farm buildings.
5. Open field landscape around settlements.
6. The Mormon hay derrick.
7. The Mormon fence. (Crude unpainted fencing, a paling fence made out of a tremendous variety of fencing materials.)
8. Domestic architectural style, L.D.S. tend to have a high percentage of I-style homes, sometimes called polygamy houses.
9. Dominant use of brick, L.D.S. settlements have a higher percentage of brick dwellings than non-L.D.S. settlements. This is related to religious doctrine as City of Zion plans call for all houses to be built of brick or stone.
10. Mormon ward chapels.¹¹

Assuming that it is possible to determine cultural boundaries by reference to such visual criteria, the areal extent of any Latter-day Saint dominated region can be delimited. First it must be determined whether Francaviglia's criteria are applicable to the area of Latter-day Saint settlement in Alberta.

The employment of visual criteria towards a delimitation or definition of cultural boundaries or areas must inevitably lead to a certain degree of subjectivity as "each man's appraisal of an identical situation is peculiarly his own."¹² This is particularly true when dealing with

¹¹Ibid., pp. 59-61.

¹²K.G.T. Clark, "Certain Underpinnings of our Arguments in Human Geography," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 1950, pp. 20.

perception of features in the cultural landscape.

The ten criteria enumerated by Francaviglia were examined and applied to the L.D.S. settlement area in Alberta. Certain criteria were found to be redundant in the Albertan case, as a result of environmental and historical differences from the L.D.S. settlement area in the United States.

The Mormon Landscape of Southern Alberta

Field reconnaissance in southern Alberta failed to reveal six of the ten features enumerated by Francaviglia as being typical of a Latter-day Saint cultural area. The absence can however, be explained by environmental, historical and economic changes between southern Alberta and the Intermontane West of the United States. Roadside irrigation ditches were not found in any Latter-day Saint settlements in Alberta, the irrigation schemes undertaken in Alberta being essentially large scale undertakings as compared to the small village based schemes associated with the Latter-day Saints in Utah. Other factors found to be absent or virtually so, were a distinctive L.D.S. domestic style of architecture, the dominant use of brick in buildings, the Mormon hay derrick and the Mormon fence.

On the basis of field reconnaissance it was found to be impossible to distinguish architectural styles of L.D.S. settlements from those found in non-L.D.S. settlements. The number of brick buildings within any L.D.S. settlement appears to be no different from the proportion found in any non-L.D.S. settlement. The majority of dwellings in all settlements are

of timber construction. Fracaviglia stated that "the use of brick was related to religious doctrine: the City of Zion called for all houses to be built of brick or stone."¹³ The departure of the Latter-day Saints from recommendations contained within the Plat of Zion has previously been established in Chapter IV. The majority of buildings initially established were generally of log or frame construction (Figs. 6, 7, 8 and 9). The few brick or stone buildings built after the establishment of settlement were generally erected by immigrants of European background.

It is suggested that L.D.S. doctrine was not a factor in influencing the presence of stone or brick dwellings in L.D.S. communities. It is further suggested that Francaviglia may have misinterpreted the evidence gained in the United States where the high percentage of brick and stone houses directly reflects the high proportion of European immigrant converts to Mormonism, and not any attempt on the part of the Latter-day Saints to implement directions given in the Plat of Zion.

The Mormon hay-derrick is today an obsolete component of the cultural landscape. Hay in southern Alberta is baled by machine. Photographs and pioneer descriptions indicate that these derricks were at one time utilized by the L.D.S. in Alberta, and may, as recently as twenty years ago, have

¹³Francaviglia, op. cit. p. 60. See also Joseph Smith, History of the Church, Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City, 1957 pp. 357-362 for details contained in the Plat of Zion.



Fig. 6. Pioneer Home of C.O. Card, Cardston. 1889.
Source: Glenbow Alberta Archives.



Fig. 7. The First House Built in Glenwood, Alberta. The open appearance of the farm village, a result of large blocks and lots, is evident. The unused section of the 82.5 foot wide street is present in the form of a wide grass covered shoulder.



Fig. 8. Cardston, 1890, (looking across Lee's Creek towards the North-West).
Farming activity within the village is clearly visible. Source: Glenbow Alberta Archives.



Fig. 9. Magrath ca. 1900.
Source: Glenbow Alberta Archives.

formed a distinctive component of the L.D.S. cultural landscape; but hay derricks no longer exist either within or outside the L.D.S. dominated area.

The Mormon fence as described by Francaviglia was not easily distinguishable from fencing utilized in most farming operations whether by L.D.S. or gentile. While such fencing was observed within the Mormon dominated area it was felt that it did not constitute a sufficiently distinctive element of the cultural landscape to warrant consideration, being too open to misinterpretation.

It was felt necessary to disregard the foregoing features. Other criteria, however, are representative of Latter-day Saint settlement. Wide streets are characteristic of all L.D.S. settlements laid down with a surveyed plan. The presence of barns and granaries within the settlement is also found to be a feature common to all L.D.S. settlements, although the pressures of urban development combined with various other factors have been largely responsible for the elimination of this feature in Cardston and Taber. Despite this, the L.D.S. settlement can generally be easily recognized by its wide streets, large blocks and evidence of either past or present farming activity within the settlement centre, as discussed in Chapter IV (Figs. 3, 10 and 11).

The presence of Latter-day Saint ward chapels constitutes a distinctive component of the cultural landscape. These chapels, generally located in the settlement centre, are easily recognizable as the design of all ward



Fig. 10. Vertical Air Photograph of Cardston, Alberta.
Scale 1: 21,120.



Fig. 11. Vertical Air Photograph of Magrath, Alberta.
Scale 1: 15,820.

chapels originates from the Church Architects Office in Salt Lake City. They all have many features in common. Some of these are the absence of crosses, (in contrast to chapels of other sects) the presence of a tall thin decorative spire, and brick or masonry construction. Almost all L.D.S. ward chapels provide a social and recreational facility as well as the religious. This is reflected in their design, many having recreational halls located adjacent to, and integrated with, the religious building. Accordingly most ward chapels, even in small communities, are substantial buildings (Figs. 12 and 13). The presence of the ward chapel is frequently emphasized by the policy of the general Church authorities in Salt Lake City of providing funds for the building of chapels for wards lacking financial resources. As a result, the L.D.S. ward chapel is frequently the most imposing non-commercial building within the settlement.

Francaviglia cited unpainted farm buildings as being typical of L.D.S. farming operations. In a number of transects taken through the L.D.S. dominated area of Alberta, 66 percent of farms possessed unpainted buildings. A transect taken in a non-L.D.S. area for comparative purposes showed that only 20 percent of farms had unpainted buildings.¹⁴ The highest proportion of unpainted farm buildings was found

¹⁴On all transects a farmstead was classified as painted if the major barn or majority of buildings were painted. It should be emphasized that the dwelling place was not considered as it was found that all L.D.S. farm houses were invariably neatly kept and painted, in contrast to the remainder of the buildings. For the survey a total of 242 farmsteads were considered, 186 in the region settled by the L.D.S., 60 in a gentile region.



Fig. 12. Latter-day Saint Ward Chapel,
Glenwood, Alberta.



Fig. 13. Latter-day Saint Ward Chapel,
Claresholm, Alberta.

south and west of Cardston, including the settlements of Aetna, Beazer, Kimball and Taylorville, where 90 percent of all farm buildings were unpainted. In these settlements scarcely any farm buildings were painted, barns always being of natural wood.

It is not possible to reach any definite conclusions as to the cause of this distribution, as while cultural transference may have been an important factor the possibility that economic or environmental factors could be responsible cannot entirely be ruled out. It is here suggested however, that Latter-day Saint settlements in Alberta are visually distinctive in this regard, natural wood barns being predominant. Paradoxically the farm dwelling place is always neatly kept even on farms whose other buildings present a run-down appearance.

If the concept that "the landscape serves as a vast mnemonic system for the retention of group history and ideals,"¹⁵ is accepted it is possible to advance some explanations for the dilapidated appearance of many Latter-day Saint farm buildings. It is suggested that the presence of this phenomenon in areas of L.D.S. settlement is a cultural transference from the Intermontane West. The majority of Latter-day Saint converts in the years 1847-1900 were European artisans who turned to farming, upon arrival in the West, as a pragmatic response to the problem of securing a livelihood. The majority of Latter-day Saints therefore,

¹⁵K. Lynch, The Image of the City, Technology Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1960, p. 126.

were new to farming hence many farmed poorly. It is suggested that the casual approach to the maintenance of farm buildings is a reflection of this. Attitudes generated in the environment of the Great Basin would be brought north by L.D.S. migrating to Alberta and so be subconsciously perpetuated in the Albertan landscape.

Despite the fact that certain features of the L.D.S. cultural landscape enumerated by Francaviglia are absent from Alberta the Albertan Mormon country is nevertheless visually distinctive. The farm village with its wide streets, large blocks, barns and granaries within the settlement, unpainted farm buildings and L.D.S ward chapels forms a visually distinctive component of the cultural landscape.

A characteristic of the L.D.S. landscape held by many Latter-day Saints as constituting the most significant cultural difference between L.D.S. and gentile areas, is the total absence of bars or liquor stores. Mormon country is invariably legally dry country. This results from the adherence of devout Latter-day Saints to the "Word of Wisdom," whereby abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, tea and coffee is enjoined.¹⁶ Only in settlements where the L.D.S. constitute a minority of the population, as in Taber, will liquor stores be found.

In certain instances Latter-day Saints have attempted to impose adherence to their own beliefs as a condition of

¹⁶T.F. O'Dea, The Mormons, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957, pp. 144-146.

land sale to a gentile. Stipulations that the land was not to be used for any immoral purpose or the selling of alcohol were written into land transfers. Such land transfers stipulated that:

. . . that no building, tent or erection now in or on the said premises or that may hereafter be placed or erected there on shall at any time be used or occupied as a place wherein intoxicating liquor is sold, whether by licence or otherwise, or as a house or place of prostitution or for any other immoral or illegal purpose, and that in the event of any breach of this proviso that land and premises hereby transferred shall revert to The President and High Council of the Alberta Stake of Zion.¹⁷

The legality of such transfers remains open to doubt and they are no longer utilized.¹⁸

Delimitation of Albertan Mormon Country

That the area of Alberta settled and occupied by the Latter-day Saints possesses a distinctive cultural landscape has been established, although the problem of utilizing the enumerated criteria to delimit exact cultural boundaries remains.

The nucleated or clustered form of settlement adopted by the majority of the L.D.S. makes a delimitation of the Mormon Culture Region in Alberta extremely complex. It is, however, possible to distinguish a broad visual axis of Mormon cultural features lying between Cardston and Stirling (see Map II). However only in the West, where the extent of L.D.S. settlement was clearly set by physical conditions and

¹⁷Transfer of the North-East quarter of Section Twenty-two, in Township Two, Range Twenty-four, West of the Fourth Meridian, Province of Alberta. 21st November 1929. Copy held by author.

¹⁸pers. comm., W. Pitcher, Cardston.

by the boundary of the old Cochrane Ranch, is it possible clearly to define a cultural boundary. To the north and east of Cardston there is no clear cut boundary line between the Latter-day Saint and the gentile areas of settlement.

The eastern boundary of L.D.S. settlement is ill-defined. Although Taber was initially settled by L.D.S. pioneers today the Latter-day Saints comprise only one third of the total population. The town does, however, reveal something of its origins from its distinctive street pattern.

If one is to utilize visual criteria to define the boundaries of the culture region, the boundary line must be drawn a few miles to the east of Stirling. The tentatively delimited culture region (Map II) must inevitably be subjective, being essentially based upon the author's perception of cultural landscape features. Reference to the map will show that the culture region demarcated purely by reference to visual criteria embraces the majority of settlements pioneered by the Latter-day Saints, a high proportion of L.D.S. wards and all the settlements where the L.D.S. constitute a majority group. It is stressed, however, that within this area not all settlements are L.D.S. and conversely not all L.D.S. settlements are contained within the L.D.S. culture region. Settlements such as Orton, Barnwell, and Taber are essentially outliers from the visual axis of the culture region.

As it is impossible to state exactly where the Mormon

culture region phases out, its boundaries defined on a visual basis can only be approximate. The region is nonetheless distinctive. A number of visual characteristics combine to render the majority of L.D.S. settlements recognizable as such, even though they have no single common feature. The previously enumerated visual criteria combine with other more subtle clues to impart a characteristically Mormon appearance to any L.D.S. settlement. Other more obvious evidence is present in certain settlements; in Cardston for example, the Latter-day Saint temple which dominates the town marks the settlement as being Mormon (Fig. 14).

It is the cumulative evidence derived from the landscape, its roots lying in the historical geography of the Latter-day Saints, which renders the Mormon Country of southern Alberta a definite, albeit ill-defined component of Albertan cultural geography.



Fig. 14. The Latter-day Saint Temple, Cardston, Alberta. Dedicated in 1923 the Temple forms a religious and cultural landmark in southern Alberta.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Latter-day Saint settlement process has been shown to be unique in Canada, characterized by an unusual degree of group cohesion and solidarity. The organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is well adapted toward successful colonization endeavours, of which the settlement of southwestern Alberta was but a part of a greater movement.

Settlement Chronology

The period before 1898 comprised the first of four major phases of L.D.S. settlement in Alberta; that motivated by polygamy, the initial stimulus for the L.D.S. migration to Alberta. However, after 1890 other factors assumed greater importance in the expansion and consolidation of settlement. Initially seen as a pragmatic solution to a temporary problem, neither the Church nor the early pioneers of Cardston viewed the first settlements as permanent but saw Alberta as a temporary refuge. For this reason growth was extremely slow until the introduction of commercial irrigation in 1898.

Although irrigation was attempted by the L.D.S. prior to 1898, physical difficulties and lack of capital restricted their efforts to irrigation of small acreages on the alluvial flats of valley floors. The collusion of the Mormon Church

and the Alberta Irrigation Company resulted in an influx of L.D.S. settlers into the Magrath-Stirling region between 1898-1901. In order to fulfill a labour contract the Church was obliged to direct many L.D.S. to settle in Alberta. The pioneers' motivations for migration were therefore diverse, some seeking land but others being specifically directed to the area by the Mormon Church.

The third phase of settlement was a response to the construction of a sugar-beet factory by a philanthropic Latter-day Saint from Utah, Jesse Knight, and resulted in the founding of Raymond and the settlement of the surrounding area.

Finally Latter-day Saints migrated into the Barnwell and Taber areas and northwards towards Calgary where in the majority of instances they became dispersed and lost much of their group solidarity. However the settlements of Frankburg, Orton, Barnwell, and Taber were founded by cohesive groups of L.D.S. pioneers and reflected their origin in their distinctive morphology and appearance.

Role of the Mormon Church

Whilst the beliefs and practices of the Mormon Church with respect to polygamy were directly responsible for the establishment of L.D.S. settlement in Alberta, the Church did not immediately play a direct role in controlling the development of L.D.S. settlement. However the Church did, after 1890, attempt to assist the incipient settlements by establishing Church ranches near Cardston, as a source of

employment for L.D.S. settlers. It was not Church policy to directly inject capital into the settlement.

Despite this, the role of the Church, even in the earliest years of L.D.S. settlement in Alberta, was always of major importance. It was the Church organization which provided the authority for dynamic leaders such as Card. The action of the Church in dispatching Apostle John W. Taylor to Cardston was a major step in ensuring the success of the colony.

The value of such qualities as strong leadership, a social organization proven under frontier conditions, faith in a mission, a sense of purpose and group cohesion cannot be easily measured; yet these were all an indirect contribution of the Mormon Church to the struggling L.D.S. settlements in Alberta.

Not until the establishment of large scale irrigation did the L.D.S. Church play a direct role in the settlement of Alberta. In 1899 the Church called settlers from the Mormon areas of the U.S.A. to fulfill a mission in Alberta by settling the irrigated lands of the Magrath-Stirling area.

The establishment of Raymond came about through the indirect influence of the Church, in the desire of a wealthy Latter-day Saint to employ his wealth for the benefit of fellow Church members. The building of a sugar factory was primarily a means of creating a source of income for early settlers rather than a commercial venture, a situation seldom paralleled in other areas of pioneer settlement.

The active involvement of the Church in providing land for settlement by its members came only after the conclusion of the major migrations from Utah, when in 1905 the Church purchased the Cochrane Ranch. This was mainly a response to the needs of L.D.S. settlers already established in Canada and the settlement of the Cochrane Ranch was primarily an accommodation of the natural population increase of Mormon settlements within Alberta.

Although modification of the original pattern of land occupance has inevitably occurred, contemporary patterns of land ownership provide an unusual index of the original extent of L.D.S. colonization. The present distribution of L.D.S. land holdings reflects the initial arrangement of L.D.S. lands around the farm village, so indicating the strong influence of active participation in Church activities upon the areal limits of L.D.S. settlement.

Church ranches were used to provide assistance for early settlers, and in 1905 to provide land for settlement by Church members. The Church still retains its ranching interests in Alberta, although Church ranches today are of little concern to the Church membership, being run on a purely commercial basis.

Ward welfare farms constitute a unique component of Albertan agriculture. Introduced in 1935 the welfare farm was designed as a cooperative venture where L.D.S. ward members could cooperatively farm a small area. Designed to provide produce for the welfare needs of ward members, the

welfare farms have encountered problems of operation associated with the contraction of farming activity within the villages. Recently the majority of ward farms have been leased out and the resultant income derived devoted to Church welfare projects. A result of this has been to make the L.D.S. welfare farm indistinguishable from other farm operations on the basis of land use or appearance.

Village Morphology

The morphology of L.D.S. villages within Alberta follows that of the L.D.S. farm village of Utah. The primary reason for the retention of this form of settlement in Alberta was the desire to retain the group solidarity and social cohesiveness of the Latter-day Saints. Other considerations such as defense, the New England background of early L.D.S. leaders, the influence of the Plat of Zion and the needs of irrigation were of minor importance.

Wide variations were found in L.D.S. settlement morphology in Alberta, and no settlements conformed to the Plat of Zion as drawn up by Joseph Smith. Whilst there was no single aspect of settlement morphology common to all Albertan L.D.S. settlements a combination of a number of features served effectively to characterize the Mormon settlement. These included streets of 66 feet or more in width set in a grid pattern orientated to the cardinal points of the compass, large blocks of at least five acres, lots of over one half acre and the presence of farm activity within the settlement centre.

Today in an era of general rural depopulation, the farm village is in decline. Modern transportation enables the Mormon farmer to locate outside the village and still remain an active member of village society and the Church. Health regulations forbidding the keeping of livestock within village limits have encouraged the trend towards relocation of farmsteads away from the village. Those farm villages which have successfully made the transition to local service centres have inevitably lost many of their distinctive L.D.S. characteristics with the decline of farming activity within the settlement and modification of street morphology.

The Mormon Landscape of Alberta

Using criteria enumerated by Francaviglia for the L.D.S. culture region of Utah, a Latter-day Saint culture region has been delimited in Alberta. Whilst not all the characteristics of the Utah Mormon landscape are found in Alberta a significant degree of cultural transference from the Intermontane West has imbued areas of southwestern Alberta with a landscape typically Mormon in character. Unpainted farm buildings, barns and granaries in the settlement centre, wide streets set in a grid pattern, ward chapels and the absence of bars and liquor stores were facets of the cultural landscape found to be typically Mormon. These features were employed in delimiting a Mormon cultural region in Alberta on a visual basis, forming a measure of the impact of the Latter-day Saints upon the

cultural landscape.

Further research is required into the geography of past Mormon landscapes in Alberta so as to extend the examination and analysis of the historical geography of Mormon settlement in this area and to define on more specific terms the individuality of this unique Albertan cultural region. The historical geography of linkages between the major source region of settlement, the United States Intermontane West, and the area of Latter-day Saint settlement in Alberta, would provide an interesting and unique subject for more intensive research by the historical geographer, enabling this unusual settlement process to be analyzed in greater depth.

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Ormus Bates, 22nd July 1970, Cardston. Mr. Bates' father was a pioneer of Cardston in 1887. Member of the L.D.S. Church.

Mr. & Mrs. Ernest K. Bullock, 16 July 1970, Welling, Pioneers of Welling (April 1902), Members of the L.D.S. Church.

Ebram Harker, 29th July 1970, Cardston, Early sheep rancher in Cardston-Foremost area. Member of the L.D.S. Church.

Grant Harker, 24th July 1970, Hillspring, Mayor of Hillspring, Member of the L.D.S. Church.

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W. L. Jones, 16th July 1970, Raymond, Secretary Treasurer-- Raymond Town Hall, Member of the L.D.S. Church.

Margaret King, 17th July 1970, Raymond, Pioneer of Raymond, Ward historian, Member of the L.D.S. Church.

C. Deloy Leavitt, 13th July 1970, Cardston, Assistant Municipal Secretary, Town of Cardston, Member of the L.D.S. Church.

George Loxton, 22nd July 1970, Cardston. Mr. Loxton came to Cardston in 1902 as a L.D.S. convert from England.

Dr. E. Miller, 15th July 1970, University of Lethbridge, Chairman of the Department of Geography, University of Lethbridge.

Julia Nelson, 20th July 1970, Mountain View, Rancher, Secretary of the Mountain View Irrigation District, Member of the L.D.S. Church.

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Member of the L.D.S. Church.

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President of the Lethbridge Stake of Zion 1926-1947.

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Ward 1946-50, Member of the Stake Presidency 1962-64,
Member of the Stake High Council, Alberta Stake of Zion.

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John Smith, 22nd July 1970, Cardston. Mr. Smith came to
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Church.

Travers Smith, 29th July 1970, Cardston, Member of the L.D.S.
Church.

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